THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 168 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MARCH 26, 1949 NUMBER 13

Break-up of the Parties?

WHAT happened in Washington last week might almost be summed up by citing the comments of Representative Halleck and Senator Morse, both Republicans but widely separated in species. No sooner had the House applied the hatchet to federal rent control than Mr. Halleck, the spirit of the late Eightieth Congress, announced in triumph: "This sets the pattern for what is going to happen from now on out. The Administration will find its plans for minimum wages, Taft-Hartley-law revision, and similar measures will be greatly changed when they reach the floor of this House." The Indiana Congressman referred, of course, to the smooth teamwork of Republicans and Southern Democrats working together to wipe out the memory of last November.

Meanwhile, on the other side of the Capitol, where the coalition worked with even deadlier effect to kill the civil-rights program, Senator Morse noted that "a new political party was formed on the floor of the Senate." He spoke darkly of the "spirit of financial fascism which has had the audacity" to defend the filibuster and openly reject the principle of majority rule.

Was this the beginning of the end for the Democratic Party? It was hard to think otherwise, considering the circumstances and the extent of the rout. Only four months after a smashing victory at the polls Senator Lucas, the majority leader, had to treat with the chiefs of the Dixiecrats as though they represented an independent, and victorious, party. The chamber was, in fact, divided among three parties, each with its own caucus, its own floor leaders, and its own political objectives. The Northern Democrats, reduced to third rank in strength, were further weakened by a split between those who, like Lucas, sought constantly to placate the Southerners, and a small band of diehard liberals who felt that the showdown with the rebels could no longer be put off.

Republican insistence on forcing the civil-rights issue to the floor early in the session was an obvious strategy. What was not so obvious was that the G. O. P. would take the political risk of siding with the Southerners as openly as it did, at the cost of forfeiting, perhaps forever, the Negro vote in the North. But it was a calculated risk. If the Republican Senators had merely wished to embarrass their opponents for electoral purposes, they would have been content to force the fight at an awkward moment. The fact that they went on to aid the Southerners in preserving the filibuster is a clear indication that they plan to work with them for more extended purposes. Together they can—and probably will—wreck the Truman program, hoping to confront the country next year with the sorry record of the "do-nothing Eighty-first Congress." Beyond that they may well plan a lasting alliance, out of which a national political realignment would sooner or later emerge. Writing in the New York *Times,* Arthur Krock reports that "some industrialists in the East who include both nominal Republicans and Democrats have been talking once more about approaching Southerners who might be called 'Wilsonian' or 'Jeffersonian' Democrats," about just such a plan. However blasphemous the choice of name, such a union must have a strong appeal, both to the Dixiecrats, who won only 2½ per cent of the popular vote at the polls, and to the Republicans, who otherwise face the dismal prospect of a country with a permanent Democratic majority.

Certainly the G. O. P. must be held primarily accountable for the Confederate victory in the Senate. Whereas the Northern Democrats voted twenty-seven to seven to sustain Vice-President Barkley's crucial ruling to end filibustering on motions, the Republicans voted twenty-five to seventeen against. It was Senator Vandenberg, moreover, who, in one of the most hypocritical speeches on record, first turned the tide in favor of the Southerners. That was the pronouncement in which we were asked to believe, first, that the Senate which framed the 1917 rule to limit debate really meant the restriction to apply to measures only and not to motions to bring up those measures. We were asked to believe, too, as Thomas Sancton points out on page 350, that the preservation of this loophole in the Senate rules is more sacred and inviolate than both platforms put together, plus the Constitution itself, not to mention the civil rights of twelve million Americans.

This is a fearful burden for the party of Abraham Lincoln to bear, and it is certain to make a powerful effort to get out from under, now that it has achieved its purpose. In this project it may well have the aid of the

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The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1949, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.
Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $6; Two years $10; Three years $14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.
Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.
Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

Southerners in the Senate, who will surely be cavalier enough to pay off an obvious debt. No sooner did the Senate approve the fake compromise rule, actually making cloture on measures more difficult than ever, than Senator Wherry rose to assure the Northern Democrats that now at last they could pass civil-rights legislation. Let them try it out, he urged, on an anti-poll-tax measure. It was by no means far-fetched for Senator Morse to report that there were "rumors of an understanding" here. In return for services rendered, the Southerners would get the Republicans off the hook to the extent of letting them pass the least meaningful of all the proposed civil-rights bills.

While this maneuver, should the rumor prove correct, would be too transparent to save the Republicans the Negro vote, the Northern Democrats are very little better off. A handful—led by Senators McGrath, Myers, Humphrey, and Douglas—have waged a hard and honest fight, but the party leadership, both in the Senate and in the White House, has been appallingly inept. It is glaringly obvious now that President Truman's first post-election mistake was in giving the nod to Senator Lucas for the post of majority leader. Beyond that, it is hard to forgive the President for spending the most fateful, and probably fatal, week of his Administration in the vacation ease of Key West. When the Barkley ruling was overridden, he should have seen that the crisis was at hand. A dramatic address to the nation, a return to Washington—and a flood of mail from home—these would have made a profound difference to wavering Senators. In time the filibuster could have been broken, and with it the coalition.

What we have seen is a disastrous failure of leadership. Its threat of immediate harm can only be balanced by the promise that out of the ashes of the Democratic Party—if it is bent on self-destruction—there will arise the phoenix of a new and more intelligent alignment in American politics.

The Shape of Things

TRANSJORDAN'S REQUEST FOR ASSISTANCE from Britain in defending the southern Negev frontier against Israeli incursions will deceive nobody. An invitation from Transjordan to Britain is an invitation from Britain to itself, since the Arab state is financed, armed, and bossed from Whitehall rather than Amman. Britain sent troops into Aqaba some weeks ago, also on "request," during the armistice negotiations between Israel and Egypt. The other day Israel dispatched a small force to the coastal area at the tip of the Negev assigned to it in the partition plan. This move was protested by Transjordan, which charged that the Israelis had violated the truce; but a United Nations inquiry revealed no hostile activities on either side. Obviously, the purpose of the

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Jewish contingent was not to invade Transjordan or attack Aqaba but to secure its four-mile stretch of coastline. Now the British are preparing to take action against "bandit" activities and alleged Israeli forays against the frontier. Do they intend to establish their hold on the strategic port at the top of the Gulf of Aqaba before an agreement is reached by Israel and Transjordan at Rhodes? Dr. Bunche should extend his inquiry immediately to check the new charges and also to find out and report what the British are up to this time.

*

COMPLETE DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN PARIS and Washington has characterized the latest efforts to promote a West German state, and the result will be more delay. It is the same old story—our government trying by every means to put western Germany on a self-supporting basis, partly to save a billion dollars in subsidies and partly to fortify the E. R. P., and France worried to see the ancestral enemy recovering more quickly than itself. Between the two the British have played the moderator, more inclined lately to side with the French than with us for the single reason that Britain is beginning to fear German industrial and commercial competition. It is a new indication that no matter how eager the military staffs may be to cement the Atlantic coalition, national rivalries continue to exercise their disintegrating influence. In London, on February 12, after a year of negotiations, the three powers arrived at a kind of understanding on the future of western Germany. Today we find them again at odds. The State Department's only concession to the French point of view has been its agreement that the new German constitution shall not be amended without the approval of the three military governors. On the most important issue of the "reserved subjects," affecting mainly foreign policy and foreign trade, the French have not obtained any satisfaction. Ignoring their insistence that very precise and firm regulations should be enforced from the beginning to prevent the western state from becoming a springboard for German nationalism, our diplomacy seems bent upon pleasing the Germans in every direction, as Carolus points out on page 352 of this issue. The American negotiators, on their part, find French obstruction infuriating. Thus the conversations have again entered a deadlock, which the Russians are using effectively in their agitation for an all-German constitution and a united Germany.

*

THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAS INDICATED that it hopes for early repeal of the United Nations resolution of 1946 calling for the withdrawal of ambassadors from Madrid. Reluctantly and late our delegates voted for that resolution. Now we regret it, for Spain forms a strategically important feature of the Atlantic coastline and its exclusion from the new alliance is strongly opposed by most of our military men. Several Latin American countries are ready to oblige us by moving to revoke the resolution in the General Assembly next month. Once normal diplomatic relations are resumed, it will be only a question of time before Franco is in the United Nations and the Atlantic Pact as well. Evidently the State Department considers the matter as good as settled, for last Sunday's papers carried the information that Admiral Leahy, lately the President's Chief of Staff, had been "tentatively" named as ambassador to Madrid. The report was not official, but neither was it given as a rumor. If true, it is both shameful and revealing. For the State Department to connive at the rehabilitation of Franco is bad enough; but to designate an ambassador before the U. N. has even considered revoking its former resolution and to name the man who served as envoy to Pétain and became his close friend and apologist would be an act of political cynicism we can ill afford at this particular moment.

*

IT WOULD TAKE A GREAT DEAL OF SOAP TO clean up the motives and behavior of Proctor and Gamble and the Benton and Bowles advertising agency in using the name of Tallulah in a suggestive singing commercial to advertise a shampoo. The jingle is no sillier than most, but it is a good deal lower—and there is no adequate adjective for the gall of a company or an agency that would exploit in such a way a name which could only refer to one person. The good nature of Tallulah Bankhead is as famous as her gay and lusty way of speech. Apparently the company and the agency—and the two broadcasting systems which were accessories to the rhyme—were counting on Tallulah's good nature to ignore the insulting doggerel. We hope it costs them a million dollars. Miss Bankhead is asking $500,000 for general damages and $500,000 exemplary damages—which are intended to teach the defendants a lesson. Their education, in taste if not in salesmanship, has certainly been neglected.

*

THE LATEST BY-ELECTION VICTORY OF THE British Labor Party is perhaps even more significant than the one at Hammersmith on which *The Nation* commented in its March 5 issue. At Sowerby, Yorkshire, the circumstances again seemed favorable for the Tories. They could make use of the fact that the election was due to the resignation of John Belcher, a junior Labor minister found to have used his office improperly, and there was no intervention by the Liberal Party to split the anti-Labor forces. At the general election of 1945 Mr. Belcher had won a majority of almost 7,000 over his Tory opponent, but had only a narrow margin

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of 570 over the combined Tory and Liberal vote. The poll on March 16 indicated that almost the whole Liberal strength had been transferred to the Tory column, but the Labor vote increased by a thousand, giving the party a comfortable majority. Before 1945 Labor had never succeeded in winning Sowerby, and it looked as good a place as any to test the efficacy of an electoral pact between Tories and Liberals as a means of defeating Labor—a tactic appealing to most Tories and many Liberals. It is clear, however, that something more than tactics are required, and the Tory Party may be reluctantly forced to face the problem of devising a program which is neither a pale imitation of Labor's nor so radical that it will upset the old guard of property owners. The party's Central Council, in session when the Sowerby result was announced, seemed disinclined to take up this task. Instead, it indulged in standard denunciations of socialism and communism and in a long debate about party colors which ended in a decision to stick to "true-blue." The choice, no doubt, reflects their present mood.

*

ALTHOUGH LAST WEEK'S FILIBUSTER WAS a major defeat, workers for civil rights nevertheless had reason to rejoice over developments at the state level. In Connecticut the legislature abolished segregation in the state's armed forces. Oregon and Washington approved anti-discrimination laws modeled after New York's, and New Jersey—which had previously ended Jim Crow in its National Guard—strengthened its anti-discrimination law even further. In signing Connecticut's law Governor Chester Bowles paid tribute to the representatives who forgot party differences to take this important step. Perhaps the Governor, who proposed the bill in his inaugural message, might give President Truman some pointers on how to persuade a hostile Senate to act intelligently.

*

THE WORLD SITUATION, DRAMATIZED LAST week by the announcement of the Atlantic Pact, lends added significance to the Nation Associates' dinner to be held on April 7 at the Waldorf Astoria in New York. Directed to the issue of Peace and How It Can Be Achieved, the occasion will provide a forum for a group of statesmen whose devotion to democratic ideas sets them apart from most political leaders in this fateful period. Australia's Minister of External Affairs, Herbert V. Evatt, acting as president of the General Assembly, made the one bold move attempted in Paris last autumn to reconcile the conflict between East and West. He will continue as president during the adjourned session opening at Lake Success two days before the dinner. Justice William O. Douglas has shown at many equally critical moments a valiant willingness to speak his mind in spite of the inhibitions imposed by his judicial post. Romulo Gallegos, last legal president of Venezuela, who was ousted by a military coup in November, represents the beleaguered democratic forces in Latin America. And Moshe Sharett (Shertok), Foreign Minister of Israel, will be present to make his first public address on the major issue facing his country and the world. We urge our readers to come to the dinner if they possibly can. Particulars appear on the inside front cover.

Questions About the Pact

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE North Atlantic Pact contained no surprises, nor did the various official statements summarizing and interpreting it. Like Bevin in London and the various government leaders on the Continent, Secretary Acheson and the President have insisted upon the pacific and defensive purposes of the pact and its strict conformity with the United Nations Charter. Almost no large-scale opposition has developed outside of Communist or near-Communist circles, although individuals here and there have raised points of difference such as those expressed in last week's *Nation*. Informal tests of Senate opinion indicate overwhelming support; in fact, it seems likely that ratification of the pact will be voted with little delay since the Congressional power to declare war has been so carefully safeguarded in the text. What debate takes place will probably center in the supplementary measures to provide arms for our allies. Without any overt steam-roller tactics the Administration has managed to surround the agreement with an almost tangible air of inevitability, and it will be a hardy Senator who makes a serious attempt to discuss it on its merits. A correspondent who covered the Acheson press conference after the text was released remarked sardonically, "You got the feeling that the FBI would tail you home if you asked any critical questions." Although the pact represents a revolutionary change in American foreign policy, it is a change that has already taken place and been assimilated by public opinion. Isolationism is as obsolete as pacifism, while doubt about Russia's hostile intentions is little less than sedition.

The behavior of the Soviet Union in the United Nations, its tight domination of Eastern Europe, and the obstructive tactics of the Communists everywhere have helped to solidify opinion in this country behind the pact. Another factor has been the repressive activities of our own government, which both stimulate and reflect the popular fear of Moscow. But the fact remains that an armed attack on the West is most unlikely and is so regarded by military experts. The reason is simple. Even if Moscow would like to conquer Europe by force—a

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dubious hypothesis in the context of Communist theory —the industrial strength of the Soviet Union is not sufficient to make such a project remotely feasible. One has only to read Fritz Sternberg's analysis of Russia's new budget on page 362 to realize the vast hiatus between Soviet productive power and that of America. Nor could the satellite states begin to fill the gap; on the contrary, all of them need industrial supplies that can come only from the West merely to restore their damaged economies and get their industrialization programs under way. In view of these undisputed facts, it is safe to assume that for many years to come Russia's aggressive inclinations, even if they are as extreme as our leaders assert, will express themselves in attacks on the stability of the capitalist world. To counter this sort of "agression" with a military alliance seems debatable strategy, first, because it may have the undesired effect of driving Russia to take drastic measures against nations outside the pact which form part of its natural defense area and, second, because it may delay or even wreck Europe's economic revival.

On the first point Russia is already warning Iran of the consequences of United States control, pointing to American-made ports and airdromes and to Iran's American-trained army. Moscow is also, and with reason, alarmed by the possibility of a Middle Eastern-Mediterranean alliance sponsored by the Western powers to supplement the Atlantic Pact. Finland is moving warily, fearful lest Norway's adherence to the pact will lead to Russian occupation.

The second question, that of European recovery, has been dealt with explicitly by the Administration: the program of rearmament is not to interfere with the economic-aid program; it will merely supplement it. But if this prediction proves true, then the experience of history is no guide. Even the mighty industrial machine of the United States can hardly be expected to rebuild Europe's economy while providing at the same time the greater part of the weapons necessary to defend the West against a presumptive Russian attack. Nor can the armies of Europe be brought back to effective strength without withdrawing millions of young men from productive work. Either recovery will, in fact, be sacrificed to rearmament or rearmament will proceed slowly, waiting upon recovery; but if rearmament is to be delayed until Europe is back on its feet, what will have been gained by rushing through an alliance whose single value is its promise that Russian attack will be met by the united military power of the Western world?

Of one thing we can be sure: the Soviet Union will take the pact as a threat, if not a present danger, and will gear its policy to that central fact. This means tighter control of its Eastern allies and the rapid consolidation of the bloc into an alliance comparable with the alliance in the West. It means, too, that revolutionary activity in Western Europe, as well as in the colonies that supply Western Europe, will be stepped up, creating another obstacle in the way of recovery. The text of the Atlantic Pact leaves some doubt about what its signers will do in case of internal political disturbances instigated from outside. Secretary Acheson was asked during his press conference whether "aggression by infiltration" would be defined as "armed attack." He replied that in his opinion purely internal revolutionary activity would not be regarded as armed attack but that such activity inspired, armed, and directed from the outside would be a "different matter." He was then asked how a revolution "engineered" but not armed from outside would be dealt with. He replied that it would be "consulted about" but would not be an armed attack under Article 5. But even if the political disturbances to be expected from now on are merely subjects of consultation, we may be sure that they will be put down with a new vigor. It has already been indicated that the European arms program in its early stages will be aimed at providing the weapons needed to control subversive activities. What looms ahead is a period of economic dislocation, strikes and demonstrations, severe repression, and growing political reaction.

POLITICS and PEOPLE

BY ROBERT BENDINER

What Is a Liberal?

THE New York *Herald Tribune*, in an enterprising mood, recently asked its readers to help it find out "the current meaning of the word 'liberal.'" No frigidaires were offered for the winning definition, nor even a round trip to Hyde Park, but the answers poured in all the same. They ranged from the eloquent and even the poetic to Frank Sullivan's definition by unwilling association: "A liberal is a man who is constantly and simultaneously being kicked in the teeth by the Commies and in the pants by the National Association of Manufacturers."

Summing up the results of its quest, the *Herald Tribune* found it surprising that while "the great majority . . . still define 'liberal' as a word of honor," they are "generally vague" as to definition. The editors thought that a generation ago such a question would have elicited specific programs, or at the very least a reiteration of "historic liberal dogmas." They concluded, therefore, that liberalism "has ceased to be either a concrete program of action or a consistent body of doctrine." And this because, happily, its "great humanistic implications have been too universally accepted" for it any longer to be "a counter in the political and economic battle."

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As an editor of a magazine that proclaims its liberalism, I have no doubt made my quota of pronouncements that time was to prove insubstantial, but I hope I have never said anything quite as dreamy and starry-eyed as that. With the authoritarian philosophy of the Communists pressing from the left and a mounting challenge to civil liberties from the right, the spirit of liberalism is far from "universally accepted" in the political sphere. And on the economic front the seesaw battle continues between those who move, knowingly or not, toward some form of statism and those who cry "tyranny" at every government curb on predatory private enterprise.

Between these fatal extremes liberalism, as Mr. Sullivan suggests, acts as the buffer. But that is only the negative and incidental aspect of its role. It is in that position only because its timeless function, implicit in liberalism from Bentham to Roosevelt, is to secure for each member of society the greatest degree of freedom and welfare compatible with the freedom and welfare of all.

This concept does not rule out adherence to concrete programs of action, as the *Herald Tribune* appears to suggest, but in its very nature it does preclude permanent allegiance to any single dogma or body of doctrine. Nor can liberalism ever be dispensed with, as that journal implies, as long as men, falling short of the perfection of angels, engage in the struggle for power and material advantage. The nature and function of liberalism remain constant, though its program changes with the flux of human affairs. Thus the freeing of industry and farming from the grip of a decadent aristocracy was the liberalism of the eighteenth and part of the nineteenth century. When private enterprise, in turn, became the tyrant at the expense of labor, liberalism shifted its target accordingly, enlisting where necessary the aid of the state. In some parts of the world today it is the state itself that has absorbed the disproportionate share of power, and against its abuse of that power—and against parties that favor and promote that abuse—the forces of liberalism are inevitably directed. For my part it is a semantic barbarism to place the liberals midway between right and left. They are in fact midway between two assaults on liberty—one by the "economic royalists" and the other by the proponents of the superstate, alias "national socialism," alias "dictatorship of the proletariat."

It is probably inevitable that a principle so fluid in its application should give rise to verbal confusion. A Joe Martin may regard himself as liberal because he favors freedom of business from governmental restraint. But he is not liberal, simply because he is too late; the liberalism of 1800 is the black reaction of 1949. Similarly, a good liberal could rejoice over the downfall of czarism in the Russian revolution of 1917; but the fruits of that revolution have no automatic claim on the admiration of liberals today.

In the last analysis, however, I suspect that this confusion of words is somewhat exaggerated. Men know when they are being liberal, and they can generally detect motives of social justice in others without benefit of rigid definition. For my money, a man is a liberal as long as he tries actively to make the underprivileged the privileged and to check them if and when they become the overprivileged.

The Great Debate

BY THOMAS SANCTON

Washington, March 20

THE great civil-rights debate is over, and with it —for the foreseeable future—all hope for the passage of the legislation promised before the November election by both major parties. Southern Democrats and Republican reactionaries have openly formed a coalition and taken control of the Senate away from the Administration leaders nominally in command, though the latter will be charged by the Republicans in the next elections with failure to pass the Truman platform. On the millions of voters who supported and worked for and rested their hopes upon that platform, the coalition has inflicted the first—but only the first—of a now inevitable series of stunning disappointments. And from three weeks of contemptible proto-fascist oratory a grim and undeniable political reality has emerged: Congress as a whole is totally unresponsive to the democratic process in times of relative prosperity like the present, when its membership is not confronted with an army of unemployed and widespread want and suffering.

Destructive though it is to orderly parliamentary process, there is no phenomenon in politics more gaudy and dramatic than a prolonged filibuster and the ensuing cloture debate, and nothing else so exposes the essential worth or cheapness of Senators. All the leaders are eventually drawn into the fight—even though the issue may not primarily concern their region. No matter what their prudent resolves not to participate or to reveal the secret party deals taking place in the cloakrooms, they are finally so aroused by the sharp tension, the angry clashes of the rival floor leaders, the heady atmosphere

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of battle, that they go in fighting tooth and claw for naked party and economic interests. The deals and double-deals spill over from the cloakrooms onto the Senate floor. Men trade away the hopes and aspirations of millions of citizens for illusory party advantages. Orators who in the beginning may have proclaimed their loyalty to a given principle or an actual measure are seen several days later wandering through the Senate aisles, oblivious to exposure, seeking names for a petition which administers the coup de grâce to the very principle or measure which they had professed to favor. Coalition leaders abandon their own bills and lead the floor fight against them.

With a single vainglorious speech Vandenberg punctures the myth of his selfless statesmanship. Taft destroys his reputation as a "civil libertarian"; shaking his finger angrily at the few unyielding pro-civil-rights Senators, glowering with the arrogance of a narrow intellect, he speaks in support of a "compromise" which any realist knows, and certainly the triumphant Southerners know, will set back the civil-rights fight a generation. Having spoken, contemptuous of those who would answer him, he strides out of the chamber.

A dignified gray-haired man, George of Georgia, delivers a measured, unctuous speech which is nothing less than an attack on the principle of majority rule—an oligarch speaking shamelessly for oligarchy. Hubert Humphrey, who at first loomed as a dominant figure in the pro-civil-rights group, appears after three weeks as a moderate-sized man with an unfortunately self-righteous style of speaking. Among the Republicans, Wayne Morse, like Humphrey, is on the side of the angels—and of civil rights—but he speaks too much, and his egotism is somehow cumulative. Out of the fog of oratory two men finally emerge as the giants of the present Senate, one long known and long too lightly regarded, the other new on the scene: Claude Pepper stands out by virtue of sustained, powerful, and closely reasoned debate, Paul Douglas by the simple majesty of his character and his views on this issue.

Other Senators appear so completely amoral politically that it would seem somehow naive to comment on them in high-flown terms or to judge them by any other standards than those of the unreal world of politics in which they function. There is, for example, Kenneth Wherry, a handsome fifty-six-year-old Middle Western lawyer who might have sprung from the pages of an early Sinclair Lewis novel. Wherry is proprietor of the finest undertaking establishment in Pawnee City, Nebraska, and also—something of a sideline—the Republican minority leader in the Senate. For pure entertainment value he is perhaps the most vivid personality in the Senate—an amazingly skilful debater, an open cynic, a humorist, a soother, a persuader, an invoker of a mythological American past, and a political confidence man who has largely succeeded in talking the Senate Democrats out of control of the chamber. Wherry's great ambition is to be President of the United States, and as part of his strategy he has set out to embalm and bury the Fair Deal program. Killing off civil rights is a first step—though he entered the debate as a sponsor of a measure favoring their extension. Does Wherry ever wonder, in the still of the night, what these mockeries on the Senate floor might mean to millions of Negroes in the lamplit cabins of Mississippi and Louisiana, in the slums of Memphis or Atlanta? It is naive even to ask.

Senator Wherry Seligson

A psychoanalyst with a bent for anthropology who sat in the Senate galleries above some weary filibusterer struggling through the final passages of an eight- or twelve-hour speech would find much to interest him in the twisted racism and dreamlike travesties of political, religious, and human ideals. The speeches are drenched in an unconscious hatred of real democracy. Some of the central ideas of "Mein Kampf" could be culled from the million or so words spoken by the filibusterers and the Northern and Western Republicans who helped them.

Journalists like Walter Lippmann and David Lawrence, whose columns have been cited by various Senators, have resorted with Vandenberg to resounding concepts which lend the mask of constitutionality and respectability to an essentially inhumane and unconstitutional cause. "The real issue," wrote Lippmann, "is whether any majority, even a two-thirds' majority, shall now assume the power to override the opposition of a large minority of the states." What of the politically imprisoned Negro minority within those states? As one who has walked in a posse behind bloodhounds in southern Mississippi and who has seen a lynch mob forming with the intention of murdering a guiltless and bewildered human being, I say that journalists like Lippmann, whose orbits are foreign offices and world capitals, are remote from the human issues in this civil-rights debate. And I wonder, therefore, if they are on any surer ground when they tell us what the Italians are thinking, or the Germans, or the Eastern Europeans.

It is not a dispute between North and South. It is not a question of regional innocence and regional guilt. It is a

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question of upholding human rights and individual freedom against the power of state political machines and the systematic terrorization of Negroes. Virulent racism, rooted everywhere in economic and sociological injustices, is as prevalent in most Northern cities as in the rural South, and regional recrimination is pointless. The issue here is whether Negro citizenship shall be validated by federal action in the South as it has been in the North. Paul Douglas tried to explain this to the Southern Senators in a noble and warm-hearted speech. When he finished, many of them came to him to shake his hand. But the question has existed so long in Southern thinking in terms of a competitive North-South outlook that it is almost impossible to break down this meaningless, geographical treatment of complex political and psychological issues which pervade all American culture.

Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee, who with Pepper of Florida dissented from the twenty other Southern Senators and supported the civil-rights bill, made a speech in which he touched upon the regional issue. He was interrupted by an incident which, I thought, considered in the broadest terms, also had profound bearing on the issue. For it spoke of man's irrational responses to an age of increasing material, political, and moral complexities. And that universal irrationality was at the heart of the great debate. I will transcribe my notes:

> *Kefauver*: As freshman Senator I did not want to speak in this session—but now want to express my view on cloture—I have some documents throwing light on the 1917 ruling; I have some deep convictions on it. I do not like to differ with my friends and colleagues from the South, but I must. The position I take is very hard for me politically—
>
> (At this point Frank McNaughton of *Time* comes into the press gallery and points to east door of gallery. "Do you know what happened just now outside that door?" "No." "A man shot and killed himself. Right through the heart. Some guy from Military Government apparently—had papers. This is getting to be like a police run." In a little while reporters making copies of suicide's note: "Leave my body to a medical college; give my heart and brain to my brother. If my death serves to redeem only half a dozen Congressmen. . . ." The vanity of suicides! On the Senate floor they never even heard the shot.)

Unity Through Hate

BY CAROLUS

Frankfurt-am-Main, March 10

THE Berlin blockade, the German prisoners of war not yet returned from Russia, the lost German provinces beyond the Oder, the nine million Germans expelled from the east now living in the western zones—all these form a source of anti-Russian, anti-Polish, and anti-Czech propaganda that never runs dry. An endless, plaintive flood of words pours from press and radio, from churches and halls of art and learning, from political rallies and cultural congresses. Yet to attempt to draw political conclusions about the German state of mind from this chorus of hatred and propaganda would be a great mistake, as was seen just a few days ago.

Frankfurt has long been host to a Soviet repatriation commission consisting of four officers and four enlisted men. In the course of time its activities became clearly pointless, and General Clay requested its withdrawal. The Russian authorities, however, refused to issue the necessary orders, and soon the Germans in Frankfurt witnessed a curious spectacle. In the early morning hours of the first day of March American soldiers began to bottle up the mansion occupied by the Russian commission, stringing barbed wire around it and cutting off the electricity. A United States army colonel mounted guard in person to insure that no one left or entered the house. He did not allow even food to be brought in. The next day German workmen began to tear up the sidewalk so that they could get at the water main and cut off the water supply.

On the third day the Russians received their orders and withdrew. During those three days did the watching Germans cry hosanna? Had the ceaseless barrage of anti-Russian propaganda kindled a leaping flame in the German heart? Far from it! The Germans grew uneasy. All made the same response: "Will the Russians stand for it? In any case, we Germans shall have to pay. A plague on all of them—Russians, Americans, British! Let them get the hell out of here! One is no better than the other." And there was a sigh of relief when the Russian commission finally went on its way.

The Frankfurt incident may serve as a barometer for the trend of German political thought and feeling.

CAROLUS is the pseudonym of The Nation's *correspondent in western Germany. A leader of the pre-war German trade-union movement, he left the country when Hitler came to power. Since his return he has been consulted by the occupation authorities as a man with a thorough understanding of social and economic conditions.*

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There is of course no Germany today, but there are some seventy million Germans—forty-five million in the three western zones, the rest in territory occupied by the Soviet army. Between the eastern and western Germans a solid wall has been erected. Everything in the Russian zone has a Soviet cast—the talk, the administration, the acceptance of change. In its political, economic, and social complexion the near bank of the Elbe differs as diametrically from the far bank as does the United States from the Soviet Union. "Moscow's satellite state!" cries the west. "Marshall colony!" comes the retort.

BUT divided as Germany is, with carefully measured liberty and insolence here, exploitation and dictatorship there, the Germans have still found one kind of unity—the unity of hate. All consciousness of the sacrifices of the Allies in the Second World War has disappeared. The ideals that sustained many Germans from 1939 to 1945 have lost their force. The rewards of victory have been squandered.

In consequence the German question is developing in headlong fashion. The wisest and most skilful statesmen and governors cannot apply the brakes effectively. Moscow, Washington, and London, ever since walls have risen between them, have been turned from allies of the Second World War into prisoners of their own policies. Whether their policies are right or wrong, wise or shortsighted, what are their causes, justifications, and inescapable consequences—all this lies beyond the scope of the present discussion. What we face here is the question of Germany. And since Germany contains seventy million people—hard-working, of a high level of intelligence, politically active and economically dynamic—the question of Germany inevitably broadens out into the question of Europe.

The one-time Allies are having their hands forced by developments within Germany, whether or not they admit it. How else explain the malodorous Moscow-inspired 150 per cent nationalism of the German Communists? Or the contrast between avowed purpose and actual practice in the decrees, measures, and tactics of military and civil administrators in western Germany? One is reminded of the famous springtime procession of Echternach, in which the marchers take one step ahead and two back.

Great Britain continues the program of dismantling German industrial plants which the United States has long since discarded and is trying to persuade the British to abandon. France pulls in one direction, the other two powers in another. London tactfully introduces its "Oliver Twist" film into the German motion-picture theaters of the British zone, enabling the Germans to vent their anti-Semitism to their heart's content and to inquire why their own Goebbels was so bitterly condemned. The Americans prohibit the film. In leading articles in one of the largest newspapers of the British zone Herr Schacht makes cleverly concealed demands for colonies for Germany. In the American zone Herr Schacht is enjoined from printing anything at all—but by way of compensation his recently published book is being widely circulated. In British- and French-occupied territory political party organs are permitted. In the United States sector they are not. There every newspaper has a mottled coloration and the reader may pick out the tint he likes best.

And so it goes, in every field of public and economic life. Non-fraternization was followed by permission to export the merchandise in highest demand—the "*ami**brides," the *Fräuleins* who become the recipients of love, marriage, and a trip to the United States. According to the latest United States army regulations, love of a *Fräulein* is the prerogative of all ranks, but to marry a *Fräulein* and bring her home is now permissible only down to the rank of sergeant. In the British zone fraternization never became as unbridled as in the American. Instead, it is the Germans in British-occupied Schleswig-Holstein who have issued a non-fraternization edict directed against British officers and enlisted men engaged in dismantling the Eckernförde submarine works.

TO RETURN to more serious matters—a certain measure of nationalism is bound to develop in any country occupied by foreign troops; in Germany that measure has already been far exceeded. The occupation authorities faced three great tasks—denazification, democratization, and demilitarization. Unfortunately *de*nazification has turned into *re*nazification, and democratization stands and falls with denazification. On February 15 last the London *Times* said in an editorial:

> Four years of occupation have done little to convert the German people to democracy. That perhaps was inevitable. . . . Those Germans who are convinced democrats have had to struggle against many difficulties, often, it is to be feared, with little help or even recognition from the occupying powers. Even the success of currency reform and economic recovery on the American pattern has in many cases given power and wealth to the very class which welcomed Hitler and made possible two world wars. The greatest difficulty has been and still is the feeling that those who cooperate with the Western allies are in some way quislings who will one day have to pay the price at the hands of Communists or nationalists.

Charles M. La Follette, former Congressman from Indiana and until January 15 United States military governor of Württemberg-Baden, made the same point in his farewell address, as reported by the United Press in the *Stars and Stripes* for January 16:

*Ami (pronounced "ummy") is the nickname given the American soldier by the German girls.

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> It is entirely possible that America's emphasis on re-industrializing this country may encourage a new National Socialism which could come to power even without a revolution. . . . There are still many people here who think that only the Nazis can increase production and keep the trains rolling. But the German democratic forces can handle them if they [the Nazis] do not find too much encouragement in the United States.

Even General Clay publicly raised a warning finger last December against reawakened German nationalism and the threat of a new National Socialism. And on February 25 the new United States military governor of Württemberg-Baden, Major General Charles P. Gross, spoke out, saying, according to Edwin Hartrich in a dispatch to the New York *Herald Tribune*, "The punitive phase of the United States occupation of Germany has come to a definite end. . . . We are entering the constructive period of our work here, where a friendly and sympathetic attitude is necessary." "General Gross, however," Hartrich added, "refused to confirm persistent reports in Military Government circles here that a recent meeting of his high-ranking staff officers was told that 'the time has come to invite Nazis to cooperate with us.' "*

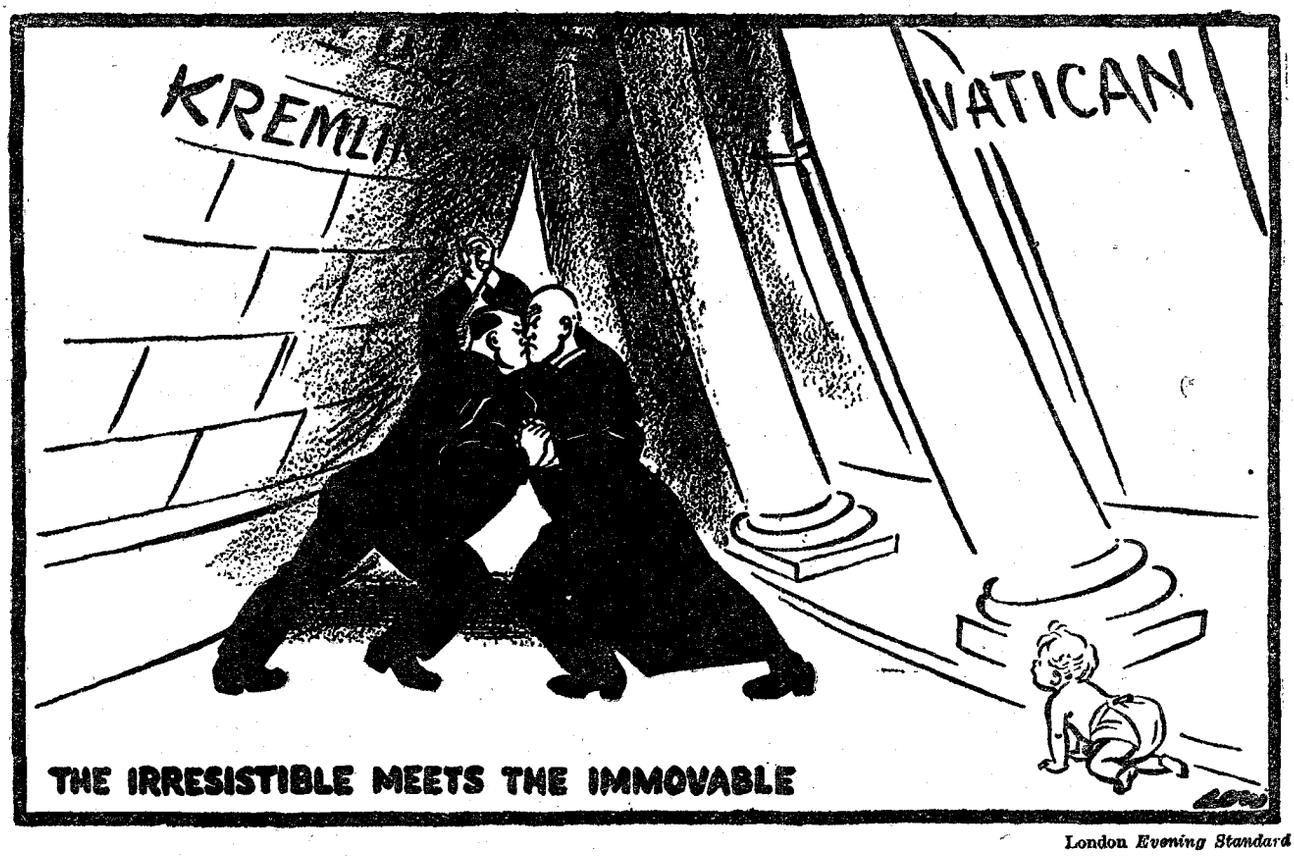
If four years of occupation justify any conclusion, it is that it was all love's labor lost. The democratic forces that existed in Germany at the beginning of the occupation, chiefly on the left, have been systematically snubbed. It can be proved a thousand times over that the occupying authorities have depended on those classes and individuals to which Germany owed the Nazi regime and the world its present misery.

There is no use looking for scapegoats. Here and there in the Military Government and its civilian agencies certain officials are known to have lent aid and comfort to German nationalism and the Nazis. "Why shouldn't there be anti-Semites among the Germans?" a German chauvinist recently asked me indignantly. "There are plenty of them among American officers and civilians." But it would be wrong to charge the bulk of Military Government officers with misguided purposes or personal wrongdoing. Most of them wrestle in all sincerity with the German problem.

THE evil began when the wall was set up between east and west and it was imagined that the Germans might be educated to become real democrats if they were shown a regimented "people's democracy" in the eastern zone. It was intensified when the Western powers, from principle as well as in self-defense against the east, foisted on Germany an economic pattern which conflicts with the social interests of 80 per cent of the population and with every principle of democracy.

The occupation authorities have become the slaves of this crucial first step. Because of it they have been unable to uproot those economic and social forces from which German chauvinism, militarism, and ultimately Nazism

*A dispatch from Hartrich to the *Herald Tribune* of March 16 quoted General Clay himself as saying, "The negative and punitive phases of Military Government work have been completed." He identified these phases, the dispatch continued, as "denazification proceedings, war-crimes trials, demilitarization, and reparations."



London *Evening Standard*

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originally sprang, and from which they are being reborn today. Indeed, the Western powers have actually set these forces up in business all over again. Small wonder that though nine million refugees, most of them peasants and agricultural workers, clamored for land, there was no chance of land reform in the west, no redistribution of the large estates.

"General Clay," reported the United Press on February 27, "said yesterday that at least one-quarter of the German trustees who will manage the Ruhr steel industry will be representatives of the old trusts. . . . 'We must have men who know the business, or we will have one hell of a mess. If you make a ruling on the fact that a man made money during the thirteen years Hitler was in, you rule out everybody of ability and experience.'" Then follow the names of the trustees and their past records. We need note but a few—Günther Sohl, Heinrich Dinkelbach, Karl Barich, Hermann J. Abs, Gerhard Schröder. There they are—the renowned managers of Krupp, Vereinigte Stahlwerke, Klöckner, von Hösch, the Hermann Göring trust—the notorious bigwigs of German heavy industry who brought Hitler into power, financed his party, and during the war were reimbursed for their efforts with compound interest from the rape of Europe. The German beneficiaries of the economic and social policies pursued in the western zones will never become friends of the Western powers. The Krupps and Thyssens, Klöckners and Mannesmanns will remain what they have always been and still are today—wolves in sheep's clothing.

Whoever believes there are no strong democratic forces in Germany to take the place of the Nazis in government and industry confuses the price of democracy with its value. He also ignores the development of the United States and denies all similar evolutionary progress. In addition, he falls into the same error as the Moscow leaders, who see only decadence in the Western democracies and think they are headed straight for disaster. For such people politics and economics are degraded into inanimate calculating devices, Gallup-poll statistics. They have never grasped or have forgotten that politics and history are the fruit of unceasing economic and social forces and of the intellectual energies and moral qualities they unleash in man.

The Liberation Betrayed

BY MARIO ROSSI

Rome, March 8

ON FEBRUARY 17 Prince Valerio Borghese, on trial for collaboration with Nazi Germany and for atrocities against the partisans, was acquitted by an Italian court. The Prince is a member of a famous Roman family with close Vatican connections, part of that old aristocracy which the Pope recently asked to set an example of Christian living. His trial was moved from Milan to Rome so that the family could utilize its connections there to set in motion certain forces that might aid him.

For many months the tragic survivors of partisan families have been on the witness stand telling about the murders and other atrocities committed by the special unit, called Xmas, which Borghese, working with Mussolini's Black Brigades and the German S. S., led against the Allies and the partisans. After listening to their stories I found the acquittal so strange that I visited Signor Fulli, one of the lawyers for the prosecution, to learn more of the facts. He opened his files for me and showed me hundreds of documents, all reading very much like the following: "On the afternoon of November 11, 1944, a detachment of the Xmas stationed in Palmanova stopped Signor Moraitti Alessandro, thirty-two-years old, teacher in an elementary school, living at Cervignano, and hung him on a tree in the pine wood of Strasoldo."

The Xmas unit had learned its methods of torture from the German S. S., with which Borghese, as second in command under Graziani of all Fascist forces, was directly connected. The S. S. had also taught it to burn houses and destroy villages in reprisal actions. I saw a letter from Borghese in which he expressed hope of collecting a special fund to reward those of his men who excelled in atrocities against the "rebels." In another letter, dated August, 1944, Borghese placed all his men at the disposal of the S. S. for the struggle against the partisans.

Some persons put the blame for the acquittal of Borghese on Togliatti, who while Minister of Justice drafted the amnesty law. But this law stipulated that the amnesty was not to be extended to persons guilty of cruelty, homicide, or mass murder, or to those who had held high office in the Fascist state. Apparently the court decided that hanging innocent civilians was not homicide, that killing partisans in reprisal actions was not mass murder, that burning houses and villages was not cruelty, and that the vice-chief of staff of the Fascist army had not held high office.

I could cite many other instances of the Italian courts' deliberate distortion of the spirit of the amnesty law.

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Practically nobody who held high office in the Fascist state has been punished for it. All but one of the ministers of Mussolini's republic in northern Italy, for example, have been found to have held unimportant positions and have been acquitted. The same rule has been applied to Guido Cristini, former president of the Special Tribunal for the Defense of the State, though for years his job was to try anti-Fascists—he had sent 29 to their death, 5,319 to prison, and 8,000 to internment camps. The experience of Basile, the former prefect of Genoa, is typical. At his first trial in 1946 Basile was sentenced to death for collaborating with the Germans in deporting Italians and Jews to Poland. He appealed against the sentence, was tried again, and sentenced to thirty years' imprisonment. Once more he appealed, and this time he gained his freedom.

The laxness of the courts toward former Fascists reached grotesque limits in the case of Giuseppe Ventura, wanted as a war criminal because he handed over to the Germans all the gold in the Bank of Italy. Ventura, the court decided, could not be tried because he could not be found. Yet at that very moment Ventura was acting director general of the Italian Treasury, and his signature appeared on all Italian banknotes, as it does today.

Few Fascists have been found guilty of even cruelty. In one case the Italian Supreme Court ruled: "Hitting the testicles and causing injuries with a knife under the finger nails and to the hands and face cannot be considered cruelty [and the amnesty law is therefore applicable] if the victim could on the same day be carried to another locality, thus proving the lightness of the said injuries" (trial of Jortin, July 25, 1946). In another case it said: "Hanging a partisan by the feet and making him swing like a pendulum by hitting him with the fists and kicking him in order to force him to admit his guilt and to accuse his own comrades cannot be considered cruelty" (trial of Carrera, September 17, 1946). And in a third case: "There is no exclusion from amnesty for a captain of the Black Brigades who after having questioned a partisan girl allowed his militiamen to rape her, one after the other, while she lay blindfolded and with her hands tied together, for such action is not to be considered cruelty" (trial of Progresso, March 12, 1947).

THE most sensational acquittal in recent weeks, before Borghese's, was that of General Mario Roatta, who with a group of high officers was brought to trial for having abandoned Rome to Nazi occupation. Shortly after the liberation of Rome Roatta was sentenced to twenty-four years' imprisonment for complicity in the murder of the Rosselli brothers, the gallant anti-Fascist fighters whom Mussolini decided to liquidate during the Spanish civil war. Roatta was head of Italian Military Intelligence (S. I. M.), which on the direct order of Mussolini accomplished the death of the Rossellis. The murder was actually carried out by French Cagoulards, who have recently been tried by a French court, but the Cagoulards had been hired by agents of the S. I. M. in France.

Before he could be sent to prison in 1944, Roatta escaped from a hospital in mysterious circumstances and for four years remained in hiding. His sentence was reversed by the Supreme Court, but he was wanted for trial before a military tribunal. This tribunal has now decided that his failure to take measures for the defense of Rome and his abandonment of his post were not crimes. Few of the generals acquitted with him have been in prison while awaiting the verdict. General Carboni has been the guest of a Roman convent which enjoys extra-territorial privileges; General Calvi di Bergolo has been living in Egypt with his mother-in-law, the former Queen Elena of Italy.

No one will deny that there are many leaks in the *epuramento* law. Badly written and confused, it allows a judge to violate its spirit while respecting its letter. But why did no one think to "purge" the judges before they became "purgers"? Most of them were appointed by Mussolini, and they now serve De Gasperi as faithfully, knowing that the Premier's task, from the moment he was elected, has been to erase all that the Resistance stood for.

The De Gasperi government's tolerance of the Fascists, their organizations, and their press is increasing and is accompanied by persecution of the partisans. Looking through the files of the National Association of Italian Partisans, I discovered that several hundred partisans are in prison right now. As in the past, they will be tried, found innocent, and released, but not before they have spent an average of eight months in prison. Recently at the high court of Acqui a partisan was charged with illegal possession of arms during the period of Nazi occupation! Almost all Fascists freed by the amnesty return to their old jobs and receive their back salaries. The partisan who goes out to look for work does not mention that he fought for freedom, for that would probably be a handicap. Mussolini's wife and children receive a subsidy from the government large enough to live on, but the families of partisans killed in action receive about a dollar a month.

Public opinion has been so aroused by the whole situation that even some of the Social Democratic followers of Saragat felt compelled to protest. And they did so with such bitterness that Saragat was on the point of resigning from the government. This "little crisis," as it has been called here, was averted, but it has made many people realize that *qualche cosa non va*. It is indeed going too far when a country that owes its moral rehabilitation to the resistance movement allows Fascist generals and murderers of partisans to get off scot free.

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Del Vayo—France Votes

AT THE moment of writing, the returns from the French elections are still incomplete, and it looks, moreover, as if half the districts would have to vote again in run-off elections next Sunday. But the figures at hand show the following indecisive results: a victory of modest dimensions for the Third Force, enough to allow it to continue, with a certain decorum, to control the government but not enough to rally the country behind it; an increase in the Gaullist vote, but not sufficient to warrant a demand that the government be turned over to the R. P. F.; no loss for the Communists, at least in the popular vote, in spite of the predictions of some political observers that the position taken by the party in the eventuality of a war with Russia would limit the Communist votes to those men and women who carry a party card.

On the day before the elections, Maurice Thorez had repeated: "The decisive issue is the struggle for peace." General de Gaulle extended no olive branch to the government for its acceptance of the Atlantic Pact but insisted upon full power for himself. The two extremist parties were belligerent and uncompromising to the end, but apparently this did not frighten enough voters into the middle parties to strengthen materially the position of the government. Thus the situation remains virtually unchanged—which is to say in a state of uneasy equilibrium.

To estimate the significance of the election results one must keep in mind certain events that preceded them. Since the beginning of the year the Queuille Cabinet has scored a number of successes. The internal loan was abundantly subscribed. Prices have dropped, especially those of agricultural products, and the price of gold in the free market has fallen more than 20 per cent. In the National Assembly the government emerged victorious, with 350 votes to 228, from a debate on Indo-China led by the able De Gaullist deputy René Capitant. Prime Minister Henri Queuille has handled an explosive situation with modesty and firmness and has proved that a man of no great stature, not brilliant, but a hard worker and a persistent patcher up of quarrels, can guide the ship of state safely if not gloriously.

Of course analysis of the Cabinet's triumphs would show that some of them were rather ephemeral. For French politicians depending on an experimental "Third Force," just to survive from month to month is reckoned a considerable accomplishment. Some of the problems have been only half solved. Even the fall in prices, though it is more real than any that Léon Blum in 1947 or René Mayer in 1948 was able to bring about, cannot be regarded as an unmixed blessing. It might be the first symptom of overproduction, if that term has any meaning in Europe today. The most vigorous advocates of M. Queuille's financial plans realize that the breathing period obtained for the Treasury will be of short duration and that more far-reaching measures will be required to put the country definitely on the road to recovery.

The Third Force has at present too narrow a base to be able to initiate such measures. The parties which form the government's majority, as was proved in the debate on Indo-China, are better disciplined than they were last year, but the divisions among them have not been bridged. On the question of the schools the Socialists continue to oppose the attempts of the M. R. P. to place the education of French children in the hands of the church. In the economic field no common purpose, except a balanced budget, unites a Socialist Party which claims, at least in its public statements, to be faithful to the principle of a planned economy, and a Radical Party devoted to free enterprise. With regard to foreign policy, many Socialists insist that their ministers should resign if the government, surrendering once more to American demands, follows the new Washington policy of nullifying the United Nations resolution of 1946 barring Franco Spain from membership. On the other hand, certain Radical deputies are willing to yield this point too. One sector of the governmental majority, though it supported M. Queuille on Indo-China, was still convinced that bringing back "Emperor" Bao Dai would not settle the question and that in the end an agreement must be reached with Ho Chi Minh. Another group believes in using the big stick.

Intra-party differences also persist. The resignation from the Socialist Party of Paul Rivet and other like-minded deputies has not ended the disputes among the Socialists caused by the Communist success in the Grenoble elections. Many remain who resent the violently anti-Communist policy of the party's right wing and of "leftists" of the type of Marceau Pivert. The divisions within the M. R. P. are almost as serious. As for the Radical Party, while one section of it still looks to De Gaulle, an increasingly large group, alarmed by the progress of the forces of reaction everywhere, with the Vatican at their head, are repeating the old slogan: "Pas d'ennemi à gauche."

Among thinking people anxiety over the effect of these factional disputes is mounting, and the feeling is again being expressed that even the left-right split must somehow be bridged. The idea that the division of Europe into two hostile camps is paralleled by a similar division within each country does not appeal to the constructive intelligence of the French. It was in the conservative *Monde* from which I quoted last week that the following comment by Maurice Duverger appeared: "Since the French democracy cannot at present suppress the Communist Party, it must adapt itself, as the Communists must also, to this unavoidable coexistence, and both must try to establish an acceptable *modus vivendi,* however great the effort required." I wonder if any conservative American paper, or for that matter any liberal American paper, would express such views.

Last Sunday's elections show that France's most vital need is to recover its internal unity, the fine ardor of the days after the liberation, when the Monnet Plan was drawn up and the foundations were laid for building a new France through work and peace.

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"Due Process" in New Jersey

BY HUGH GRAHAM

Trenton, New Jersey, March 15

READERS of the *Daily Worker* are already familiar with the "Northern Scottsboro case," which has received enormous attention in that journal. Many Europeans are also familiar with it, for it has been fully and sensationally reported in the British and French press and presumably, by now, in the press of Eastern Europe. The few non-Communist Americans who have heard of Trenton's "legal lynching," as the *Worker* calls it, are apt to dismiss the hullabaloo about it as just another piece of agit-prop. This would be a mistake. While it is true that the case has served the party well as a means of raising temperatures and dollars, it is equally true that any objective observer must regard the events which followed William Horner's murder in Trenton fourteen months ago with no less uneasiness than that expressed by the Communists. For it is quite apparent that six Trenton Negroes have been convicted for collaborating in a killing in which some or all of them may have had no part.

The story is this. During the winter of 1947-48, the city of Trenton was hit by a crime wave of considerable proportions. It came to a climax on January 27, 1948, when Horner, a seventy-three-year-old second-hand-furniture dealer, was murdered in the rear of his shop on North Broad Street. According to a woman named Elizabeth McGuire, first identified as Horner's wife and later as his mistress (he had another, real, wife), three "light-skinned Negroes" entered the shop at eleven in the morning and beat Horner to death and herself almost to death.

The police started to look for suspects. It has since been claimed that, prodded by public impatience, they conducted a heavy-handed investigation of the poorer districts and Negro districts of Trenton and nearby communities, questioning and occasionally manhandling various people. Whether or not this is so, it was announced in the Trenton *Times* three days after the murder that a "heavily armed motorized bandit squad" would henceforth patrol the streets. It was also announced that "all men found on the streets without good reason would be questioned by the plainclothesmen."

On February 6, ten days after the crime, a Negro named George English complained to the police that his son, Collis, had been driving the family car without permission. A squad car was sent to pick up Collis that evening. As he was brought in, a patrolman named Lichtfuhs was just coming on duty. According to the records, Collis was questioned by Lichtfuhs as follows:

Lichtfuhs: "Collis, do you know what you're here for?
English: "I been driving the family car."
Lichtfuhs: "That isn't all, is it? You don't have a license to drive, do you?"
Collis: (Shakes his head, no).
Lichtfuhs: "But what I really want to know is what you've been doing with that car the last few weeks."
English: "Well, Ralph Cooper and I have been going out to Robbinsville to get potatoes."
Lichtfuhs: "You're the one hit the old lady up on Broad Street last week, aren't you?"
English: "I didn't hit nobody."
Lichtfuhs: "Then you must have hit the old man."

For the next four days English was repeatedly questioned, and gradually the names of five other Negroes were brought out—his brother-in-law McKinley Forrest, Ralph Cooper, Horace Wilson, James Thorpe, and John MacKenzie. Forrest went to the police station the day after English was arrested to see what had happened to him. He was held and never released. Cooper and Wilson were taken from their beds in a Robbinsville farm shack early on the morning of February 7. Thorpe was arrested in an East Trenton saloon that afternoon. MacKenzie was arrested four days later when the police returned to the English home and demanded "all the men in the house."

On the evening of February 7 Miss McGuire was brought to the police station to see if she could identify any of the prisoners. She was not able to do so, saying that she could not see clearly because of the beating she had sustained. She later testified in court, however, that as she had left the station that evening "their faces come to me," but she did not go back to report this.

Police and the county prosecution staff, two or more at a time, questioned the suspects individually, in assorted groups, and all together. The interrogators, as they later admitted, worked in relays. The Negroes have since variously sworn that they were refused sleep and were threatened, beaten, cajoled, and drugged.

On Thursday morning, February 10, the police announced that the murder had been "solved." Signed confessions of five of the six Negroes were in hand when the men were arraigned and charged the next day. Only Horace Wilson had not confessed. In the time between their arrest and arraignment none of the six were told they might have legal advice and only one of them, Forrest, was allowed a visit from a friend or relative.

The trial opened in June before the Court of Oyer

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and Terminer of Mercer County, Judge C. P. Hutchison presiding. The jury was composed of nine white women and three white men; Negroes had been called for jury duty but had asked to be excused. The defendants were assigned counsel. The state opened its case with a lengthy proof of the corpus delicti and all sorts of testimony to the effect that the confessions had been freely and voluntarily given. Miss McGuire testified that she had seen three of the defendants in the Horner store on several occasions before the murder. On cross-examination she admitted that she had "gone over" photographs of the defendants with the police a few weeks before the trial. She identified a receipt that she said had once been given her by Forrest, who had signed it with another name. Forrest was later shown to be illiterate, and no record of his signature shows anything but a shaky "X."

A Frank Eldracher testified that on the morning of the murder he was crossing the street to his car, which was parked directly in front of the Horner store, when he saw two light-skinned Negroes leave the store very quietly, closing the door behind them, and walk off up the street, "as though nothing had happened." A few seconds later, he said, Miss McGuire came to the front of the store, her head bloodied. He went for the police.

The third eyewitness, a Mrs. Virginia Barclay who lives on the same street as the store, merely testified that about the time of the crime she had seen three light-skinned Negroes run across the street from the direction of the store, climb into a green Plymouth four-door sedan driven by a fourth Negro, and drive up North Broad Street. (The English car is a black Ford two-door sedan.) Neither she nor Mr. Eldracher identified any of the defendants. There is a direct contradiction between Eldracher's statement that the Negroes left the store *quietly* and the declaration in each of their confessions that after the killing they ran out of the store.

Three other interesting points emerged at the trial: some $1,600 was found in the dead man's pockets; all the witnesses described the Negroes they had seen as "light-skinned," whereas all the accused but Thorpe are very dark; nobody mentioned a one-armed Negro among the men seen leaving the store, but Thorpe has only one arm.

The prosecution was forced to strain every resource to have the confessions admitted as evidence. It finally accomplished it despite the following defense objections: (1) the men had been illegally arrested; (2) the men had been illegally detained and denied right of counsel; (3) the confessions were involuntary. The first objection is at least debatable. A peace officer in New Jersey may make arrests without warrants "in fresh pursuit" of a suspect. Although the first arrest was made some ten days after the crime, it might be argued that it was made during a "fresh pursuit." The second objection seems more valid. In addition to the Sixth Amendment of the Constitution, which guarantees a "speedy and public trial" and "the assistance of counsel" to any accused, New Jersey law specifies that when an arrest is made without a warrant, as in each instance here, the arresting officer must take the accused before a justice of the peace or similar magistrate prior to any examination and without unnecessary delay. After this preliminary hearing the accused may not be held prior to arraignment for more than forty-eight hours. Except in the case of MacKenzie, this statute was totally disregarded. As for the third defense argument, the police deny that the confessions were in any way obtained by coercion. There is, however, indirect evidence that at least one confession was dictated by the police. Captain Delate, in charge of the investigation, testified at one point as follows:

> *Q.* I believe this is the time he [English] told you a more complete story . . .
> *A.* We told him the story.
> *Q.* Ha! Ha! You told him the story, is that it?
> *A.* We told him what part he took in the crime.

The defendants not only repudiated their confessions but produced alibis, some better than others but all supported by witnesses. Wilson, who had refused to confess, produced work records and many witnesses to show he had been working in Robbinsville at the time of the murder. The defense wished to subpoena certain police records—the fingerprint report on the murder weapon and the police blotter for the days of the arrests—but this request was denied on the ground of the inviolability of state documents.

On August 6, after eight weeks of trial, the jury returned a verdict of "guilty"—not in the first or second degree, just guilty. The defense counsel, who have been joined, on behalf of three of the defendants, by O. John Rogge, will contend that the judge improperly "upped" the verdict to "guilty of murder in the first degree." The case now goes to the new seven-man New Jersey Supreme Court, where briefs *amicus curiae* will be entered independently by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the American Civil Liberties Union. These two organizations did not come into the case for some time because almost from the first the Communists made a political issue of it.

Whether the appeal wins or loses, the Communists will make great capital of the outcome. Yet it cannot be denied that if it were not for the Communists, and their friends, the case might have been railroaded through without much of a stir. It was the Civil Rights Congress, an organization on the Attorney General's subversive list, which brought Rogge into the defense and dug out many facts which have since appeared in non-Communist press reports of the affair.

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Yoshida: Premier in Blinders

BY WILLIAM COSTELLO

Tokyo, March

IN JAPAN'S third post-war election, held on January 23 last, two parties made substantial gains—the ultra-conservative Liberal Party and the Communist Party. Of the 466 seats in the lower house the Liberals now hold 269; the Communists increased their membership from 4 seats to 35. Every other party lost ground. Some cynics called it a sweeping victory for the forces of reaction, left and right.

It is widely believed that the present chamber will survive for the full four years for which it was elected. Besides having thirty-six votes more than a majority, the Liberals can almost certainly count on the support of the Democratic Party, with sixty-nine seats. Political stability seems at last to have been achieved after three and a half years of uneasy coalitions.

This facile assumption, however, may prove ill-founded. In fact, Premier Shigeru Yoshida is in the embarrassing position of having both too much power and too little. His majority is so substantial that he cannot evade responsibility for formulating and carrying out constructive policies; at the same time, because of the factions within the various political parties, he cannot guarantee the fulfilment of his program. The minor political *oyabun* (bosses of groups within parties) have jumped party fences so lightly since the end of the war that it would not be surprising if Mr. Yoshida were unable to keep his unruly cliques in line for anything like four years. He himself is cynically aware that a shift in public feeling or an adequate bribe in the right place could easily waft him from power.

I accompanied the Premier on a three-day campaign trip—his "special" consisted of half a second-class coach—and one day we fell into a discussion of the two-party system. Mr. Yoshida told me how he expected it to evolve in Japan. The first need, he said, was for a single strong party. After that, "the party in power will doubtless make mistakes and thereby make enemies; in the course of time these enemies will group together in a second strong party." Yoshida, like most other observers, believes the logical candidate for the role of "loyal opposition" is the Socialist Party, but the Socialists obtained only forty-eight seats. Perhaps the most significant result of the election is the opportunity created for the Communists by the decline of opposition parties capable of operating within the parliamentary framework.

The way the Socialists have skidded in less than two years from nearly 150 seats to 48 is one of the tragedies of the occupation. There are three reasons for the party's losses. The first is that in January, 1948, SCAP abruptly pulled the carpet out from under the Socialist Premier Tetsu Katayama—this is vehemently denied in official quarters—and left him no alternative but to resign. The second is that in last year's investigation of political corruption it served the interests of both Liberals and Communists to expose the sins of the Socialists, who suffered a disastrous loss of prestige. Knifed by their political enemies, the Socialists proved incapable of rallying around a clear-cut platform or of modernizing their party structure by the elimination of cliques. The third reason for their poor showing is that General MacArthur ordered all occupation officials to observe a strict hands-off policy toward the Communists. This was intended as a tactical withdrawal for the purpose of uncovering the full offensive power of the reds, but the outcome was catastrophic for SCAP planners who had been trying to nurse a middle-of-the-road party into a semblance of animation. The Communists, numbering about a quarter of one per cent of the registered voters, polled 10 per cent of the votes cast, or forty times their party membership. Psychologically they became *the* opposition, and within twenty-four hours after the votes had been tallied they aggressively proclaimed their leadership and began maneuvering for a united front. The Socialists could only scream a defiant no.

When Clement Attlee formed a Labor government in Great Britain, some wag observed: "All I can say is that if the Communists ever form a British government, it will be known as His Majesty's government." But there is no disposition in Japan to refer to the Communist bloc in the Diet as "His Majesty's loyal opposition." The Communists pay lip-service to parliamentary procedures, but by their own admission they are slaves of party doctrine, not servants of their constituents. One hears gloomy predictions that the Diet sessions will be more like a three-ring circus than ever.

Popular feeling about Communist prospects is mixed. There are those who think it is time to jump on the bandwagon, especially in view of Communist successes in China. One intellectual has said, "In the next election the Communist Party may win a hundred seats." Dozens of secret sympathizers and fellow-travelers have openly avowed their membership in the party since the election.

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On the other hand, the great mass of emperor-worshipers, probably 90 per cent of the electorate, fear and hate the Soviet-tinctured brand of Marxism. Premier Yoshida's feeling about it is typical. "I hate communism so much," he told me, "that I have avoided even reading about it!" Unfortunately, he may find this ostrich-like attitude is not the best stance from which to assail his foes. Mr. Yoshida also told me that the primary weakness of the Japanese Communist Party is its reliance on Russia for moral support, explaining that Russia is popularly regarded as Japan's inveterate enemy and that nothing tinged with Russianism could possibly prevail. He made no mention of the influence exerted by such Communist slogans as "racial independence," higher wages, social equality, full employment, and "no taxes for workers."

The Premier labors under still another handicap—his characteristic ultra-conservatism. It was apparent immediately after the war that Japan, stripped of its overseas territories, was more than ever a land of scarcity. Hence a general program of rationing became indispensable. Mr. Yoshida and his party have insisted, nevertheless, that they want to do away with all controls and restrictions.

Many people think that Mr. Yoshida's Liberal Party would like to govern for the benefit of the rich and is merely waiting for an opportunity to discriminate against workers and farmers. There seems to be some evidence favoring that belief. In 1947 the first Yoshida Cabinet collapsed as a result of the strike crisis at the beginning of February, when the Premier refused to make concessions to the workers. Last year the Liberal Party eagerly supported the enactment of a civil-service law which was severely restrictive. At present the party is preparing amendments to the basic labor laws which threaten still further invasions of the guaranties given union members by the constitution. If this anti-labor bias is permitted to express itself, hope for economic stability in Japan will evaporate.

THE question facing the new Diet is not whether controls shall be imposed on industry, trade, agriculture, finance, and labor, for under the nine-point economic-stabilization program drafted in Washington last December a considerable degree of economic planning is inescapable. The question is about the methods to be used to carry out a program for a controlled economy. If the new government follows what its critics regard as its neo-fascist tendencies, Japanese society might easily fall victim to tyrannical bureaucrats and state monopolists. The nine-point program provides a framework within which genuinely progressive policies may be pursued, but its success will depend on the manner in which basic policy is implemented. If Mr. Yoshida attempts to exploit any class in society for the advantage of another class, the result will be social and economic chaos rather than stability.

It has long been evident that there are too many unproductive workers in Japan, both in private industry and in government. These drones must be converted into productive workers. The Japanese recognize that industry must be "rationalized"—but not merely through ruthless pruning. The problem is to find useful work for those who become unemployed. This means the simultaneous development of new opportunities in private trade and industry and of a public-works program capable of absorbing excess manpower.

Premier Yoshida

At the moment it is being argued that a big public-works program would be inflationary and would further unbalance the budget. But Japanese industry cannot hope to compete in foreign markets unless its costs of production are reduced, which means trimming pay rolls. In order to take up the slack in employment the government must increase its revenues, and to do this it must eliminate corruption and incompetency in the tax bureau, where collections have been running about 30 per cent of estimates. Occupation officials, after a year of heartbreaking struggle, have discovered a conspiracy of sabotage in the tax bureau, and it remains to be seen whether Yoshida's power is great enough to smash that conspiracy.

The time for shilly-shallying is about over. Old Guard Japanese politicians have insinuated, pretty openly at times, that the United States needs Japan as much as Japan needs the United States. While the global strategy of the cold war was being formulated, that contention had a plausible ring. The Japanese were pretty well convinced—not only by General MacArthur's assurance but also by the trend of international events—that the United States would be compelled to defend Japan in the event of war. Recently, however, military planners have come forward with the theory that Japan would be a liability in war time because of the difficulty of bringing raw materials to its factories through submarine-infested waters. If the United States should decide to pull out, Japan might degenerate—with or without Soviet intervention—into a nation of chronic poverty and utter impotence. That is a possibility with which the Yoshida government will have to reckon. It may decide, therefore, that it should stop irritating Washington by temporizing and horse-trading tactics.

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Russia's War Budget

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

THE Russian Minister of Finance, Arseny G. Zverev, told the Supreme Soviet on March 10 that the Soviet Union was planning to spend almost 20 per cent more on its armed forces this year than last. In 1948 it spent 66,000,000,000 rubles for military purposes out of total revenues of 408,400,000,000 rubles; in 1949 it will spend 79,000,000,000 rubles out of 445,208,000,000. The United States intends to increase its military expenditures by about the same percentage—from $11,000,000,000 last year to $14,300,000,000 in the budget now pending in Congress.

Since the Russian figure of 79,000,000,000 rubles is the equivalent, at the official rate of exchange, of $15,000,000,000, the amounts the two countries will spend for defense also seem to be about the same. Whether they are really the same probably no one can say. It is difficult to determine how the purchasing power of the ruble in Russia compares with that of the dollar here. And it is almost impossible to determine how much the ruble will buy when it is spent for military supplies, the prices of which are fixed by the government and in most cases are not made public. Mr. Zverev told the Supreme Soviet that much of the increase in military expenditures was accounted for by the higher wholesale costs caused by the abolition of state subsidies. But he did not say how much. We are certain only that the Soviet Union will spend more on its armed forces this year and that it wants the Russian people and the whole world to know it. The increase is made necessary, of course, by the "aggressive policies" of the United States and Britain, seeking "world domination."

The Russian Finance Minister also said that "the Soviet Union will allocate 19 per cent of its total expenditures in 1949 to maintain its armed forces. In the United States budget 38 per cent is allocated directly to the military, and the total direct and indirect allocation runs over 50 per cent." He thus gave the impression that the United States would spend a greater proportion of its income on its military establishment than the Soviet Union would, but that is obviously not so. Since Russia not only controls but owns all industry, its budget covers almost the whole economy, while in a country with free enterprise like the United States by far the greater part of the economy is outside the budget. The largest item in the Russian budget is the sum allocated to the national economy—159,000,000,000 rubles, or 33 per cent of the total. Out of this sum are made large investments for the expansion of Russian industry, investments which in the United States are made by private capital. In the Soviet Union the budget is almost identical with the national income; in the United States it is about one-fourth of the national income.

Clearly, therefore, it is Russia, not, as Mr. Zverev implied, the United States, which will spend the greater proportion of its income on its armed forces. And the reason is very simple. Production in the United States is about four times as large as production in Russia.

In an armament race with the United States the Russians would be in an even worse position than they were when they faced Nazi Germany. The Soviet Union was the only state which before the outbreak of World War II made a vigorous effort to meet the threat of the German war economy. According to an instructive article by Raymond W. Goldsmith in *Military Affairs* for spring, 1946, German military expenditures in 1935-39 amounted to $12,000,000,000 and in 1940 alone to $6,000,000,000; those of the Soviet Union, in the same years, to $8,000,000,000 and $5,000,000,000. Thus the Russians stepped up their military expenditures from two-thirds those of Germany in the five years before the war to more than four-fifths after it began.

The present situation is much more unfavorable for the Russians. Before the Second World War the industrial production of the United States was from three to three and a half times as large as that of the Soviet Union. During the war our armament production was more than three times as large as the Soviet Union's. Today our total production is 60 per cent above the pre-war level, but Russian production at the end of 1948 was at best but 10 or 15 per cent above its pre-war level. The ratio, therefore, has become about four to one in favor of the United States. This huge difference is clearly illustrated by the steel industries of the two countries. Before the last war the Russians produced around 20,000,000 tons of steel a year, as against Nazi Germany's 25,000,000 tons; they hope to increase this figure in the next few years by some millions of tons. But we are producing 90,000,000 tons a year.

Fifteen billion dollars for defense imposes a far heavier burden on the Russian economy and standard of living than the same sum does on ours. When the Soviet Minister of Finance announced the 20 per cent rise in Russian military expenditures, he was not only timing his announcement to coincide with the signing of the Atlantic Pact but telling the Russians that they could hope for little improvement in living standards in the near future. Labor's increased productivity will be used for the present to strengthen the armed forces, not to feed or clothe the people of Russia.

FRITZ STERNBERG is the author of "How to Stop the Russians Without War" and the recently published "Living with Crisis." In an early issue he will discuss American economic policy in Germany, particularly in the Ruhr.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

IT IS curious to find, in a popular American novel, a determinism so determined as that which forms the frame of "Point of No Return" by John P. Marquand (Little, Brown, $3.50). No one would accuse Marquand of being a Marxist, and he seems to make fun of the anthropologist who turns up in his book. But the element of determinism in both Marxism and anthropology has become fashionable, even among those who know nothing of either or scoff at both, and of course one of the secrets of a popular writer's success is a flair for seizing upon what is fashionable.

Marquand has taken over determinism in this book, and erected it into a rigid system. One rather amusing result is that "Point of No Return" kept reminding this reader of those proletarian novels of the thirties, with their preordained sequences and endings. There is, however, one marked difference. The proletarian novel held out the dream of a different and better world. No dream, not even the American dream, inspires Mr. Marquand.

All the world's a cage, Mr. Marquand seems to say, or at best a series of cages. In the cage there's a place for everyone, and everyone, whether he knows it or not, is in his place. Some people try at one point or another to change their places, and may even seem to, but in the end they will come to see, if the world does not, that there has been no change, really. Thus Charley Gray, the hero of Mr. Marquand's book, who was born on a second-best street in Clyde, Massachusetts, becomes a vice-president of an exclusive bank in New York, but Charley knows that he still lives on Spruce, not on Johnson, Street. So with every other character in the book—except one, whom I shall discuss a bit later.

Determinism has its uses—and Marquand's sociological graph is, up to a point, valid and illuminating. Pressed too far, it begets a cold detachment which neutralizes feeling and dehumanizes everything it touches. In fiction as in politics, it is death to difference and individuality, and these are, after all, the novelist's stock in trade. This cold detachment—which has nothing in common with the passionate detachment of the artist—shows itself here in Mr. Marquand's delineation of character and situation. The tone is half-cynical, half-sentimental; the account is superficial because from where he has chosen to sit—in a slightly raised seat with a windbreak against undue emotion or wonder—he can see only outlines. Meanwhile, the compulsion to fulfil the pattern gives short shrift to the unpredictable element in the human personality and the human condition, and we are likely to get reports of behavior in lieu of characterization.

That is what we get here except in one case. Marquand's reports are interesting. He is able to induce suspense, even about the question of whether or not Charley Gray is really going to get the vice-presidency, and his picture of the boom and bust of the twenties is very well done. His writing, needless to say, is smooth and competent. It has little tension, and since his attitude is one of passive tolerance rather than active compassion, one does not expect to hear, and seldom does hear those overtones that reverberate through the great novel and go on sounding after it has been laid aside.

One might say that "Point of No Return" is no more than a reasonably good facsimile of a very good novel, but there is, as I have indicated, one character in the book who erupts into reality and makes it worth at least one reading. This character is John Gray, the father of Charley—and of John Marquand perhaps? He erupts into reality, one feels, in spite of rather than because of Mr. Marquand's efforts, and one of the unplanned effects of his convincing presence is to reveal the shallowness and superficiality with which the other characters have been treated and to show up Mr. Marquand's system for the arbitrary device it is.

John Gray lives on Spruce Street but he doesn't fit, refuses to fit, into that or any other street. And his end? He plays the market with the family's inheritance, pyramids his investment to dizzy heights on paper, loses it in the 1929 crash, and commits suicide. This bare summary might suggest that John Gray's function in the tale is merely to prove that it is possible to end up in a place below the one you were born in and are entitled to. But John Gray himself scouts any such mechanical, functional role. He is out of Mr. Marquand's cool conscious control from the very beginning; he lives and moves outside the cage, with its manipulated inhabitants: and his fate has much more to do with his own personality than with Mr. Marquand's determinism.

It is obvious that the portrait of John Gray springs from a level of feeling much deeper and far less conscious than any others in the book. This is true, also, of the picture of the town of Clyde, Massachusetts—and here again one feels that the town's reality comes through in spite of rather than because of Mr. Marquand's deliberate and conscious efforts. It is a level of feeling that cannot be tapped at will. On the other hand, the flow from it can be obstructed, by devices and denials, to the point of no return.

The American Destiny

PATHS TO THE PRESENT. By Arthur M. Schlesinger. The Macmillan Company. $4.

FOR many years Arthur M. Schlesinger has been known among teachers of American history as a pioneer in cultivating new ideas and significant areas of fresh inquiry, particularly in the fields of social history and the impact of urbanization. His "New Viewpoints in American History," published in 1922, has had a notable effect upon the college teaching of the past generation. The present volume, a series of thirteen essays on a variety of subjects, is in a sense a continuation of that work. One chapter on the role of the immigrant has been carried over from the earlier volume in a substantially revised form. The rest are new.

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The core of the book can be found in the essays on the American character, on the problems of Presidential politics, and on the place of the United States in the world. I was most impressed by a bold and suggestive attempt to chart the cycles of liberalism and conservatism in American politics, which excited a good deal of attention when it first appeared in the *Yale Review*, and a charming essay on predictions of American destiny entitled Casting the National Horoscope. Possibly the least successful of the chapters is the first, on the American character, which repeats much that is familiar and sound but adds little or nothing that is new.

Differences between this volume and the earlier one are in many ways suggestive of changes in our historical consciousness and in the direction of historical inquiry. "New Viewpoints in American History" was concerned largely with developments that took place on native grounds. It expounded interpretations of American history that had been made in the previous fifteen years by such scholars as Charles A. Beard, Frederick Jackson Turner, and Dixon Ryan Fox. It manifested a common absorption with economic factors and with the reinterpretation of specific episodes like the Revolution, the making of the Constitution, and Jacksonian democracy. It also reflected, notably in a keen essay on the States' Rights Fetish, the concern with penetrating behind the mask of political rationalizations that had become such a salutary objective among liberal thinkers during the Progressive era.

"Paths to the Present" expresses unmistakably the concern of the 1930's and 1940's with the place of the United States in the world. Almost one-fourth is devoted to the nation's wars, its place in Western European history, and the fluctuations in its martial spirit. Although the contrast in points of view could be overemphasized, there has been a noteworthy shift. During and prior to the twenties the inarticulate major premise in historical studies of the United States was the notion of American exceptionalism. Historians tended to stress the uniqueness of American development, the importance of continental isolation, the singular qualities induced by long preoccupation with the settlement of an internal empire; when these assumptions were not in the foreground of American writing, they loomed large in its background. Comparative references to European development, acknowledgment of European influences, were sparse. Frederick Jackson Turner, with his emphasis upon the frontier as a force in shaping American society, had a powerful influence; even those critics who tended to find something bad in everything American agreed with Turner in essence, and bracketed the raw influence of the frontier along with puritanism as the forces that had both forged and corrupted the American character. It was the central drive of Turner's type of investigation to bring out the special, regional, and differentiating features of the American situation.

A transfer of attention has taken place, in part under Professor Schlesinger's leadership, from the frontier to the city, from regional and local qualities to national qualities and national problems, and from the American West to the Atlantic community of nations. What stands out in "Paths to the Present" is the author's recognition that a balanced conception of our historical development must make ampler use of comparative reference and give more weight to those characteristics which the United States shares with Western Europe. One of his best chapters emphasizes the development of political democracy, industrialism and urbanism, nationalism, imperialism, and humanitarianism as basic trends which European and American civilization have in common. He also points to the continued involvement of the United States in the major European wars.

No doubt the general breakdown of isolationism has begun to penetrate our historical consciousness. In the long run it can hardly fail to add important perspectives and contribute to a dissolution of the provincialism which has been such an important limitation of American writers on American history. However, there is a difference between abandoning the illusion of isolation and underestimating the power it had in the past. When Professor Schlesinger casually suggests that membership in the League of Nations would probably have made it possible to avoid the Second World War, I think he is perpetuating one of the less substantial figments of the liberal internationalist mentality. His volume is quite successful in correcting the old tendency to oversimplify the sources of American success; there may be equal danger of oversimplifying the sources of failure.

RICHARD HOFSTADTER

The Basis of Human Knowledge

HUMAN KNOWLEDGE: ITS SCOPE AND LIMITS. By Bertrand Russell. Simon and Schuster. $5.

SHORTLY before his departure from this country five years ago Bertrand Russell expressed his intention to round out his career in philosophy with what he hoped would be his most important book. He declared that while most of his life had been devoted to the foundations of mathematics and the analysis of deductive inference, these subjects were in his opinion only of secondary significance. The paramount problems of philosophy, he believed, are concerned with the clarification of "non-demonstrative" arguments, whose premises imply their conclusions only with some degree of probability rather than with rigorous necessity. It is arguments of this type that play commanding roles in the affairs of life as well as in controlled scientific inquiry; and the great "scandal of philosophy" is often said to consist in the fact that the principles underlying them are still obscure and debatable. To make explicit these principles and to exhibit the assumptions required to establish their validity were the problems to which Russell planned to address his next book.

"Human Knowledge" is the realization of Russell's aim. It contains the fullest account he has ever given of his views on probable inference, and on the justification of knowledge that is claimed to be objective. But the book contains more than this. Russell was somewhat less than accurate in characterizing his long career in philosophy as having been concerned mainly with mathematical logic. On the contrary, he has been intensely preoccupied with central issues in epistemology for almost two score years. A by no means negligible value of the present book lies in its presentation in systematic and perhaps final form of analyses of special questions in the figments of the liberal internationalist theory of knowledge with which Russell

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has long been identified—questions ranging from problems of language and meaning to issues connected with space, time, and causality. There have been shifts in the details of his philosophy both in emphasis and substance. Perhaps the most important of these, especially in reference to the argument of the present volume, is his *qualified* acceptance of what he used to recommend as the "supreme maxim of scientific philosophizing." According to this maxim, since inferences to unobservable objects are always precarious, they ought to be replaced by the entirely safe device of *defining* such supposed objects in terms of directly experienced data. Russell now believes that science cannot dispense with such inferences and has abandoned his earlier phenomenalism. Nevertheless, Russell's present account of the nature of knowledge does not differ essentially from the doctrines to which his readers have become accustomed. And in any case, the central problem of the book—the justification of scientific knowledge—is a direct consequence of the approach to the theory of knowledge he has been developing for several decades.

The logical starting-point of Russell's discussion is the assumption that if anything is to be known by inference, some things must be known directly and without inference. But for him what we know directly is inherently mental, private, and subjective; and his task is to show how, from the fragmentary data of sensation, genuine knowledge of the objective world can be obtained. Moreover, while the evidence for science comes from common sense—the view according to which the objects of our experience really do possess the qualities they appear to possess—Russell maintains that science proves common sense to be false: roses are not really red, nor is the sun really hot and bright. What, then, is the warrantable content of scientific propositions, and how can we warrant them as valid?

Now it is evident that the conclusions of science cannot be deduced by strict logic from the data of direct experience; and if science is to be possible, various principles of non-demonstrative inference must therefore be accepted. However, these principles enable us to obtain objective knowledge only of abstract structures; so that the objective qualities of things—if indeed they have any—are forever hidden from us. Furthermore, Russell maintains that these principles of inference are warranted only on condition that the world possesses certain general characteristics; and the climax of his analysis consists in enumerating and specifying the assumptions which, if true, are sufficient to justify scientific inference. On the other hand, these ultimate postulates of science cannot in turn be justified with the help of the usual methods of experimental science, since according to Russell scientific method can be shown to be valid only if we grant the truth of these postulates. Experience can confirm these ultimate assumptions, but it can neither prove them nor make them probable; and yet without knowing them to be true we can have no rational basis for our belief in science. Russell is thus driven to the conclusion that the postulates of scientific inference must be known in some extra-scientific fashion, so that empiricism as a theory of knowledge is found in the end to be inadequate. "Either we know something independently of experience, or science is moonshine."

As always, Russell develops his arguments with refreshing vigor and bold but responsible ingenuity, and his detailed discussion of special issues will undoubtedly revitalize professional thinking on these subjects. Nevertheless, at least two major difficulties will prevent some of his readers from accepting his main argument. In the first place, Russell assumes, in the company of a long line of distinguished philosophers, that all inferential knowledge must be based on knowledge that is both immediate and private. However, a careful examination of his examples of direct knowledge raises fundamental doubts as to whether anything is known in this way. For his examples, as well as his over-all analysis, do not settle the question whether the alleged data of direct apprehension are *logically primitive*—as Russell's theory requires them to be—or whether the cognitive apprehension of those data is not actually contingent upon prior inferential processes and upon acquired modes of organic behavior. It is certainly not a matter of direct knowledge whether some specific item (for example, my seeing a flash of lightning) is known immediately or only by inference; and a considerable body of objective knowledge must be assumed when one attempts to establish whether a given datum of experience is logically primitive or involves inference. There is therefore ground for suspicion that the alleged necessity for basing all inferential knowledge on knowledge that is inherently private and subjective is the dialectical necessity generated by Russell's framework of analysis rather than the inescapable outcome of an independent inquiry into the circumstances under which knowledge is obtained. But if this is so, the relevance of much of his reconstruction of scientific knowledge is placed in serious jeopardy.

The second difficulty to which reference has been made is connected with Russell's central problem of justifying non-demonstrative inferences. Everyone will agree that we do not possess demonstrative knowledge of many things (for example, that the earth is a flattened sphere) which are nevertheless beyond reasonable doubt. In such cases, the evidence for what we claim to know is not sufficient for logically deducing the asserted

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conclusion, though it is sufficient for accepting the conclusion without serious risk of error. Now what is one to understand by the demand that such knowledge be justified? If the demand is so conceived that the conclusions of non-demonstrative inferences must be shown to be the *logically necessary* consequences of premises known to be true, then it is obvious that no claim to objective knowledge can ever be justified—unless assumptions are introduced which must be known independently of experience. However, the impossibility of satisfying the demand without adopting assumptions of this sort does not prove that we can have no warranted knowledge except by abandoning empiricism; the impossibility simply calls attention to the fact that the demand is an inappropriate one. Why *should* we accept for non-demonstrative arguments standards of validity rightly required for strictly deductive ones? Now, indeed, Russell formally disavows the idea of seeking a deductive justification for scientific inference. Nevertheless, his actual analysis is based squarely on a conception of "justification" that coincides with the one he nominally rejects. For he introduces postulates of scientific inference which must be known independently of experience, precisely because he wants to prove *deductively* that non-demonstrative inferences are valid. But if this idea is surrendered as hopeless because misguided, the fact that science employs such postulates as Russell mentions no longer requires to be interpreted as showing the limits of empiricism; indeed, in adopting that interpretation Russell exhibits himself as operating, *malgré lui,* from the intellectual premises of traditional rationalism. On the contrary, those postulates can be intelligibly conceived as rules warranted by their matter-of-fact success in ordering experience. They are known to be true, not independently of experience, but on the basis of the same sort of empirical evidence that serves as the foundation for warranted knowledge throughout science.

Russell has not settled the questions he proposed to resolve in this book. None the less, disagreement with his analyses, even disagreement with his major thesis, constitutes no bar to profound admiration for Russell's devotion to philosophy as a rational disciple and for the scope and penetration of his discussion. "Human Knowledge" is an impressive and stimulating intellectual adventure, written in masterly prose by a master of contemporary thought.

ERNEST NAGEL

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Rationale for the Fair Deal

SAVING AMERICAN CAPITALISM. Edited by Seymour E. Harris. Alfred A. Knopf. $4.

CHATTING the other afternoon with a friend who is a Labor member of Parliament, I was asked—hopefully, I presume—if I detected any signs that American liberals were moving toward common ground with British Laborites. I said that such signs were few and faint but that most of them found expression in a book I had just read, Professor Harris's symposium "Saving American Capitalism." The differences, I added, were still more striking than the similarities.

The position taken by Professor Harris and his associates is that there are certain basic values inherent in capitalism or inextricably associated with it historically that are worth a concerted effort to save. The most conspicuous of these is of course the freedom of the individual. But these writers all believe that unregulated capitalism will both defeat those values and itself. They are uniformly convinced that in economic policy the central problem is to "assure stability of demand." They come down hard on schemes for regulating capitalism, not in the narrow traditional sense, but through the Keynesian approach, the emphasis falling on fiscal policy. In implementing a policy, they argue, there must also be more and more socialization of consumption. This will involve the free use of the tax mechanism to accumulate funds in the hands of the government for spending in ways not open to private enterprise but presumably vital to public welfare. The net effect will be both continuity of economic activity and a strong trend toward the equalization of incomes. Public service will be substituted for individual enrichment, even for private enterprisers.

This brief summary makes clear, I think, why I cited the Harris book in reply to my friend's question. I went on to say that, on the evidence it offers, few American liberals, even left liberals, are yet prepared to call themselves Socialists. Indeed, with rare exceptions, they are even dubious about nationalization, only prepared to face it if and when no possible alternative presents itself. On the other hand, there is an unexpressed premise in many of the essays which is perhaps of significance for the future. Many of the writers strongly imply that if private enterprisers do not find it possible to evolve and execute satisfactory price, wage, and other vital policies in collaboration with government authorities, then the government may have to move in to enforce such policies. It is also evident that many of the writers are toying with the idea that the government may have to move in on the unions and enforce a national wage policy. In short, the Harris book shows that the left liberals are getting ready to take steps in the British direction if the alternative of collaboration between government and private enterprise fails them. Yet even then there would be no identity of doctrine, only rough similarity.

For the fact remains that Professor Harris's liberals are convinced that private enterprise must remain the primary reliance, not an auxiliary, of state socialism. They may have queer ideas about what private enterprise can take and

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still be private enterprise, but they rest their case on it nevertheless. Whether the net effect of the two approaches to social reconstruction will be much the same in social results and ancillary consequences is something else again. Assuming that the British Socialists reach their goals, and that Professor Harris's liberals reach theirs, the differences may prove only that there are many roads to social democracy, not one. But as of this moment there remains the unhappy suspicion that both the American left liberals and the British Socialists are heading down a road which may end in a bog. This book gives insufficient attention to that possibility. Skepticism is not Professor Harris's forte, and he has chosen like-minded collaborators, naturally.

Because the book was written last year—the Preface is dated September 9, 1948—there is an undercurrent of pessimism in it. Political prospects seemed hardly favorable then to men of such outrageous views. The Truman victory changed all that. It may now just be that this book will prove to be the "bible" of those who are charged with providing a rationale for the Fair Deal. For that reason it has significance beyond what its editor expected; and for that reason, too, it can be read with profit by persons excited about the Fair Deal and persons depressed by it. It is important not only to all who are interested in ideological developments in America but also to those interested in concrete political prospects.

C. HARTLEY GRATTAN

Cecil's Method

POETS AND STORY-TELLERS. By David Cecil. The Macmillan Company. $4.

WHEN, after some interval, we come upon an old friend who once again inspires admiration, it is difficult to give praise that represents satisfaction and not surprise. Such pale compliments as may be launched point more to the lost interval than to the here and now, and indicate past forgetfulness rather than current appreciation. The return, it must seem, pleases more than the presence. So it is with any attempt to laud Lord David Cecil and his return in "Poets and Story-Tellers." All the old cheers so obviously apply that to repeat them is to cast doubt where none is due. Certainly Lord David has written a delightful book. Of course he writes beautifully, thinks clearly, and owns a pair of sensitive ears that are glued to a well-filled head. What else would one expect?

Yet however familiar most of its virtues, "Poets and Story-Tellers" is unique in that it is the most revealing of Cecil's books. No lurid secrets, or even coy sentiments, but a method, usually wrapped, mufflered, and gloved, comes to light. Or rather it is exposed, for it is the wilful independence of the poets and story-tellers that pulls their director on to the stage. The offending artists are a diverse lot of heroes and heroines: Shakespeare and Webster; Fanny Burney, Jane Austen, and Thomas Gray; Turgenev and Constant; Virginia Woolf and E. M. Forster. Each draws a short, individual essay. But the collection of essays, despite the diversity of the subjects, presents a unity which reflects a consistent and comprehensive method.

This method, easy to diagram but difficult to apply, depends upon the traditional division between life and art or fact and form. Life and fact are restrictive elements—the limitation of an author's personal experience, the impatient claim of society for common sense and credibility. Any break in these restrictions involves failure, or at least a flaw. E. M. Forster, for instance, is not an entirely satisfactory novelist, partly because he goes beyond his range and attempts to describe "character and experience too alien for him to be able to give it imaginative life," and partly because "he does not always succeed in harmonizing realism with symbolism." Fanny Burney too transcends the bounds by inflicting stagy plots "on a realistic picture of life." However, within these bounds, when they are observed, work sensibility and imagination, transforming experience into art. Professor Cecil seems to recognize three different though not always distinct types of imagination —moral, aesthetic, and humorous. "John Webster sees life as a struggle between right and wrong. His vision is a moral one." "Virginia Woolf was in the fullest, highest, extremest sense of the word an aesthete." Gray "represents that peculiar product of the ancient university, the scholar-aesthete." "Virtue appealed to Turgenev in the same way that music did. His standard of values was fundamentally aesthetic." "Shakespeare was not a moralist, he was an observer and an aesthete." "Jane Austen's imagination was a comedian's imagination." And even the elusive E. M. Forster fits into the pattern as a moral archer who shoots the beast with comic arrows.

Lord David is not very happy about the moralists, who, he feels, need a world in which they can be sure whom to praise or blame. But in general it is not the distinction in characteristic qualities that measures excellence. Rather it is the depth to which these qualities are pushed. Shakespeare is the best of aesthetes, for he appreciates everything. He "teaches us that it is possible to face life at its most baffling and imperfect and unideal, and yet to find it inextinguishably enthralling and splendid." Jane Austen is the queen of novelists, for she not only "keeps the balance between form and fact," she also pushes her particular comic vision to the heart of the matter with a fastidious impartiality that lends profundity to her vision and universal significance to her judgment.

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To Lord David's judgment his method lends only discipline. But his judgment is good enough to stand a little hardening. For with the exception of a sentimental affection for the little things, quiet, private, and quaint, and a corresponding insensitivity to the grand style, the brave joy of riding "in triumph through Persepolis," Lord David misses very little. JOSEPH KRAFT

Books in Brief

CHIEF JUSTICE. John Marshall and the Growth of the Republic. By David Loth. Norton. $5. A middle-of-the-road biography of the great jurist and Founding Father who established the principle that the Constitution is what the judges say it is. The material is well-worn but always fascinating; the handling is lucid and competent. Recommended to the layman, who will find it less biased and forbidding than the four-volume Beveridge biography, but also less eloquent, detailed, and distinguished.

IN ANGER AND PITY. By Robert Magidoff. Doubleday. $2.95. The American correspondent who was framed and expelled from Russia last year has written a remarkably dispassionate and informative book in which the pity is all for the Russian people and the anger all for their rulers and exploiters. Of especial interest is the section on the strangling of the arts by the heavy hand of the Kremlin.

ACTIONS AND PASSIONS. By Max Lerner. Simon and Schuster. $3.50. A catch-all collection of Max Lerner's *PM-Star* columns. In these hot-off-the-griddle judgments on headline subjects of the last four years, a nimble, incisive mind and a reporting ability of a high order deal with material that is largely ephemeral.

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION. By Herbert Brucker. Macmillan. $4. An analysis and defense of America's Fourth Estate. Mr. Brucker, editor of the Hartford *Courant,* makes a strong case for the superiority of our present methods of news dissemination over all possible alternatives and, incidentally, gives a great deal of interesting information on the actual techniques of collecting and presenting news.

MYSTIC REBELS. By Harry C. Schnur. Beechhurst. $3.50. A rather fascinating study of four oddly assorted saints, prophets, and sinners: Apollonius Tyaneus, a pagan saint of the first century who attempted to reform the dying religion of the Roman state; Jan van Leyden, contemporary of Luther and leader of the Anabaptists; Sabbatai Zevi, a Jewish messiah of the seventeenth century; and that arch rogue and charlatan Joseph Balsamo, better known as Cagliostro. A pleasant excursion down the byways of history.

REPORT ON AMERICA. By Robert Payne. John Day. $3.50. The report, it must be said, is confused and opinionated, and the recommendations at the end include such empty gestures as a second bill of rights for people everywhere, a "peace army," a standing conference on freedom, a department of peace, etc. This is the eleventh book by a busy young Englishman who has spent the last two years in this country.

WE OF THE AMERICAS. By Carlos Davila. Ziff-Davis. $3.50. A rather scrambled collection of facts and fancies on Latin America and its relations with the Colossus of the North. The author, a former Provisional President of Chile, believes that we are committing national and economic suicide by cavorting around with Europe instead of concentrating our energies on building up the countries of the Western Hemisphere.

AMERICAN ARGUMENT. By Pearl S. Buck with Eslanda Goode Robeson. John Day. $3. A debate, or rather discussion, between a white and a colored woman—one a famous novelist, one the wife of Paul Robeson. The territory covered extends from America to Russia, from freedom to education, and the interlocutresses wander through its spaces like eager, earnest children in search of right and wrong. For the most part Mrs. Buck is the meek, bewildered inquirer; Mrs. Robeson the emphatic Cassandra.

CITIZEN THOMAS MORE AND HIS UTOPIA. By Russell Ames. Princeton University Press. $3.50. A well-written and well-made book which treats Sir Thomas More as a practical political and economic reformer. Mr. Ames stresses More's connection with the London merchants and ably demonstrates that "Utopia" is a "product of capitalism's attack on feudalism."

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Films

ANTHONY BOWER

REALLY, the Italians should discover a new cinematic theme, and should understand that constant reiteration is not the way to convince an American audience that not only did every Italian during the last war loathe the Germans but that they were all, from the highest aristocrat to the humblest peasant, deeply anti-Fascist.

"Outcry" is a sort of bastard offspring of "Open City" and "Paisan" which with complete disregard for continuity or coherence has combined all the successful ingredients of those films to make an absolutely incomprehensible hodge-podge. To attempt to describe the plot would be sheer folly, but it seems to have something to do with some partisans and their activities in a small Italian village immediately after the Italian armistice. Fortunately the film is partly saved from complete lack of interest by the introduction of some of the strangest incidents concerned with the high life of the local gentry that have ever been seen on the screen. There is a Contessa who owns just about everything in the neighborhood and who wears sequins day and night; there is her sister who in interesting contrast always wears trousers, and the dialogue between them is conducted somewhat on the following terms. The Contessa: "I love that peasant because he used to smell of horses and when he looked at me he looked right through my clothes"; the sister, whose every remark is prefaced by a shiek of laughter: "Oh, don't be so intellectual."

The subtitles usually deal only with such gems as this and do nothing to help clear up the confusions of the plot, but it looked at the end of the film as if the partisans had won a tough fight against the Germans and as if the leading partisan were going to land Lea Padovani, the new star whose talents have less to do with acting than is usually the case in Italy.

"Little Women" has been resuscitated after a decade. Sad to relate, Katherine Hepburn's place as Jo has been taken by June Allyson who turns her into one of the most exasperating little hoydens imaginable, and the rest of the cast is not much more sympathetic. Margaret O'Brien is particularly repulsive as Beth, whom death removes much too late in the film, and the professor that Jo marries more than serves her right. The photography is in technicolor, and never have spring and autumn in Massachusetts worn such startling colors.

N. B.: Two weeks ago I said that "Devil in the Flesh" was playing at the Paris Theater. Owing to the stubborn success of "Symphonie Pastorale," presentation of "Devil" has been delayed, but it should be on view within the next few days.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

A POINT similar to Diana Trilling's in her recent protest against Alexander Werth's report on Czechoslovakia was made in letters I received after my discussion of the Gieseking-Furtwängler problem. One reader pointed out that I had reviewed Stignani's recital without worrying about her political past, and asked why the worry only about German musicians. And another, asking whether we could expect an artist to fight evil in a modern police state without regard for the consequences, contended that if we did we must expect it of a Russian artist no less than of a German. "If terrorism and torture are still terrorism and torture though divorced from anti-Semitism, what crimes did the Nazis commit that haven't been committed by the Russians? Did the Nazis go any further in their denial of human dignity and artistic integrity? And do not the Soviet composers collaborate much more closely with the Communist Party than did, say, Furtwängler with the Nazis? Yet who of those who are so busy with their accusations against Gieseking and Furtwängler has issued a ringing denunciation of Soviet composers for bowing to the same evil which was so hateful in the Nazis?"

It seems to me that one could not ask great moral gestures of the ordinary musician in Nazi Germany or Fascist Italy, for whom there was no possibility of escape, and who, if he was to support his family, had to acquiesce in what he could not change. And similarly one cannot ask such gestures from the Russians. But Gieseking and Furtwängler in Germany were among the big international artists, and as such, after 1933, were in and out of Germany year after year, with the possibility of staying out and making this a telling gesture of dissociation, as some others did. In the circumstances their going back amounted to an implicit associating of themselves with the regime; but they also associated themselves with it and lent themselves to its purposes explicitly—Gieseking from conviction, Furtwängler from vanity, love of power, opportunism, both from lack of moral sense.

As for *our* moral gestures against these moral inadequacies, a reader wrote me from France that "Gieseking played four sold-out concerts and Furt-

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wängler two, with not the slightest resentment or in fact any mention of the matter in the French press." And he reported the comment of a French boy whose family had lived in a region near the Belgian frontier which the Germans had more or less destroyed. "His family felt there was a moral problem involved in giving support to a representative of Nazism, including the financial support of successful concerts. He would therefore not go to such a concert. Why was there no comment in the press? Well, the French do not think moral problems of this sort are very much helped by public protest: everybody knows what is involved, everybody can make up his own mind. As for the people who did go to hear Furtwängler and Gieseking, they are Americans and people who have less to forget"—this with irony. One could, after all, he added, listen to Toscanini or Bruno Walter with equal pleasure and without violation of one's scruples.

I agree that it is for everybody to make his own decision—for me, feeling as I do about Gieseking, to decide to stay away from his concert but not to try to prevent someone else from hearing it if he has decided he wants to. In other words, no picketing. The same with Furtwängler if he were to come here and hire an orchestra for a concert—though subscribers of the New York Philharmonic would, I think, be right in taking action against the management's engaging him as conductor of the orchestra and in this way forcing him on them.

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And certainly the same with Flagstad. A reader sent me an article by Alfred Frankenstein of the San Francisco *Chronicle,* from which I learned what the Norwegians condemn in her behavior: nothing that she did after her return to Norway, but only the fact that she did return through the territory, and with the help, of the enemy. It is something for which the Norwegians are entitled not to forgive her, but which doesn't justify Americans' trying to prevent her from earning a living by singing for those who wish to hear her. In her case the picketing is, as an another reader contended, "a stupid and cruel thing," which makes understandable the demonstrations for her in Carnegie Hall that made me uncomfortable at the time. And it becomes outrageous when the picketers are persons whose picketing until June 21, 1941, implemented the attitude which led Molotov, after the fall of France, to express to the German ambassador "the warmest congratulations of the Soviet Government on the splendid success of the German armed forces."

As for Mr. Werth, it was time something was said about what I would call the half-talk in his reports from Russia. By this I mean his practice of telling us—in professed explanation of some shocking Russian action—only what the Russians had already said, with no further comment relating it to our ideas and values that had found the action and statement shocking, or to his own ideas and values that appeared, without his actually saying so, to find the action and statement reasonable (no wonder he had no trouble with the Russian censor). Occasionally the statement was so blatant that one suspected he was using the technique of letting the Russians hang themselves with their own words. And it was only in this indirect way that the Russian critic Brusova's meaningless definition of musical "formalism" which he quoted in his "uncensored" article from London last summer (indistinguishable from his "censored" articles from Moscow) threw any "new light on what really happened" to the Soviet composers.

Real illumination was provided by Juri Jelagin, a former member of the Moscow State Symphony Orchestra now in this country, in one of Virgil Thomson's Sunday columns last summer. Describing what kinds of music Stalin likes and dislikes, he contended that analysis of the various government decrees and instructions regulating musical activity in Russia would reveal that they were in accordance with Stalin's personal tastes.

Of more general significance and importance was Mr. Jelagin's description of concerts in the Kremlin. "If [Stalin] likes a performance he smiles affably and applauds for a long time . . . When a performance does not please him Stalin merely turns his back to the stage and begins to talk to one of his neighbors. There can be no greater blow to any artist." And Mr. Jelagin described an incident he had witnessed. At the New Year's Eve celebration in the Kremlin in 1938 Stalin, seated with other members of the Politburo at the table nearest the stage, listened to the newly organized State Jazz Band with smiling satisfaction. But when the band's vocal soloist, Valentina Batischeva, who in some way had acquired what Mr. Jelagin, in a later account in the *New Yorker,* described as "an absolutely *right* jazz style," began to sing, "Stalin turned his back to the stage and began to eat. The rest of the leaders looked at the Generalissimo and followed suit. This ceremony was repeated each time the young lady appeared. . . . Several days after our Kremlin recital Valentina Batischeva was dismissed from the State Jazz Band. Her artistic career was over."

It seems to me that nothing more significant and important has ever been reported about present-day Russia. For it reveals its rulers as men of monstrous inhumanity in simple human relations; and such men cannot produce the good society.

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Letters to the Editors

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Dear Sirs: How long do you expect me to continue borrowing my friends' copies of *The Nation* when you persist in printing such tripe?

F. W. CRAWFORD

Kansas City, Mo., March 14

Ideology or Nation?

Dear Sirs: The virtuous indignation of the French government at the brutally outspoken declaration of Thorez cannot fail to elicit a smile. After all, President Vincent Auriol and that grand Elder Statesman, Léon Blum, still profess to be orthodox Marxians. Their party, the S. F. I. O., is the French section of the Workers' International. They cannot have forgotten that just over a hundred years ago Marx and Engels sent forth the call: "Proletarians of all countries, unite!" They must have sung with religious fervor the lines of the "International" (I do not know the English version):

> And if these cannibals expect
> To turn us into heroes,
> We'll show them our bullets
> Are first for our generals.

In 1914 the world was deeply disappointed because the German Socialists backed the Kaiser and sang "Deutschland über Alles."

There are only two logical attitudes: "My country, right or wrong!" ("My country" has to be defined as the party in control: in Hungary it is the Hungarian government); or else: Ideology above nation. "Rather Hitler than Blum! Rather Stalin than De Gaulle! Rather Marshall than Thorez!" Both are defensible. But the Marxian Socialists of the brand of Auriol and Blum have neither wings to fly with nor legs to stand on.

ALBERT GUERARD

Palo Alto, Cal., February 28

Circumstances Alter Cases

Dear Sirs: Everything is a matter of perspective.

Pétain speaks: A French officer rebels against the lawful government of his country; advocates a foreign policy contrary to that of the head of the state; urges his partisans to welcome foreign armies on French soil, to fight a power with which we are collaborating. The name of that traitor is Charles de Gaulle.

A Tory speaks: A subject of the king leads a movement to overthrow the lawful government of his country. He receives with open arms the troops of a despotic foreign state with which he himself had waged war. The name of that traitor is George Washington.

Query: I take it that the treaties of mutual defense between England and the U.S.S.R., France and the U.S.S.R., negotiated by Churchill and De Gaulle, still have a few years to run?

THE SPIRIT IRONIC

Okmulgee, Okla., March 5

Italian Colonies and Italian Poverty

Dear Sirs: I have long been awaiting a truly progressive voice on the question of the former Italian colonies to be raised in the press of Italy. *Italia Socialista* has now—though much later than I expected—fulfilled my expectations. This newspaper denounces the claim for the restoration of the former colonies which Italy renounced under the peace treaty and protests against the establishment of a Ministry of Italian Africa, with a staff of 7,000 persons, at a time when Italy has an immense budget deficit and is unable to proceed effectively with long overdue improvements and reforms in Italy itself.

Italia Socialista observes that a first estimate of sixty milliard lire for trusteeship expenses has been made, and asks pertinently where this money is to come from.

Count Sforza recently stated, "We Italians feel it our duty not to lose interest in the cause of African progress." *Italia Socialista* asks who are the Italians to whom Count Sforza refers, and states that these can only be: (1) the builders who work in Africa, and whose balance sheet no one ever controls; (2) the speculators who know how to get exclusive sales rights for Italian goods in the colonies, and then fleece the natives by getting monopolies for native products; (3) the generals, who would otherwise have to retire; (4) the 7,000 employees of the Ministry of Italian Africa; (5) the Fascists who clap at Marshall Graziani's trial, and all the rest who think civilization consists in destroying whole villages by poison gas.

Italia Socialista protests that Italy is largely "backward, illiterate, bandit-infested, and poor," that the colonies were always a serious drain on the Italian economy, and that to reimpose the burden would have "ruinous consequences." It further declares that both the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary of Italy are fully aware of this fact, but are swallowing the imperialist propaganda because they fear it would be unpopular to do otherwise. Whether or not this is true of Signor de Gasperi and Count Sforza, there is no doubt that it holds for many other prominent Italians.

The attitude adopted by *Italia Socialista* should be supported and encouraged. It would ill become Britain, which has so recently accorded liberation to India and Burma, to assist in the return of the former Italian colonies to the domination from which the Allies have liberated them, the more so as Britain appealed to these people to assist us in the defeat of Italy, and led them to believe that our victory would assure their own liberation. These hopes were further encouraged by the Charter of the United Nations.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST
Editor, *New Times and Ethiopia News*

Woodford Green, England,
February 28

What Compensation for Our Own D. P.'s?

Dear Sirs: Quoting from *The Nation* of February 12 in respect to Public Law 886: "Damages for personal inconvenience, physical hardship, and mental suffering are specifically disallowed. . . Since many of the former evacuees may not learn the provisions of the law . . the Department of Justice should make every effort, and without delay, to advise the evacuees of their rights." The evacuees referred to are Japanese Americans.

I am a frequent reader of *The Nation.* Since returning from a Japanese prison camp in the Philippines in 1945 I have seen no comment in your pages on the long-delayed and badly needed compen-

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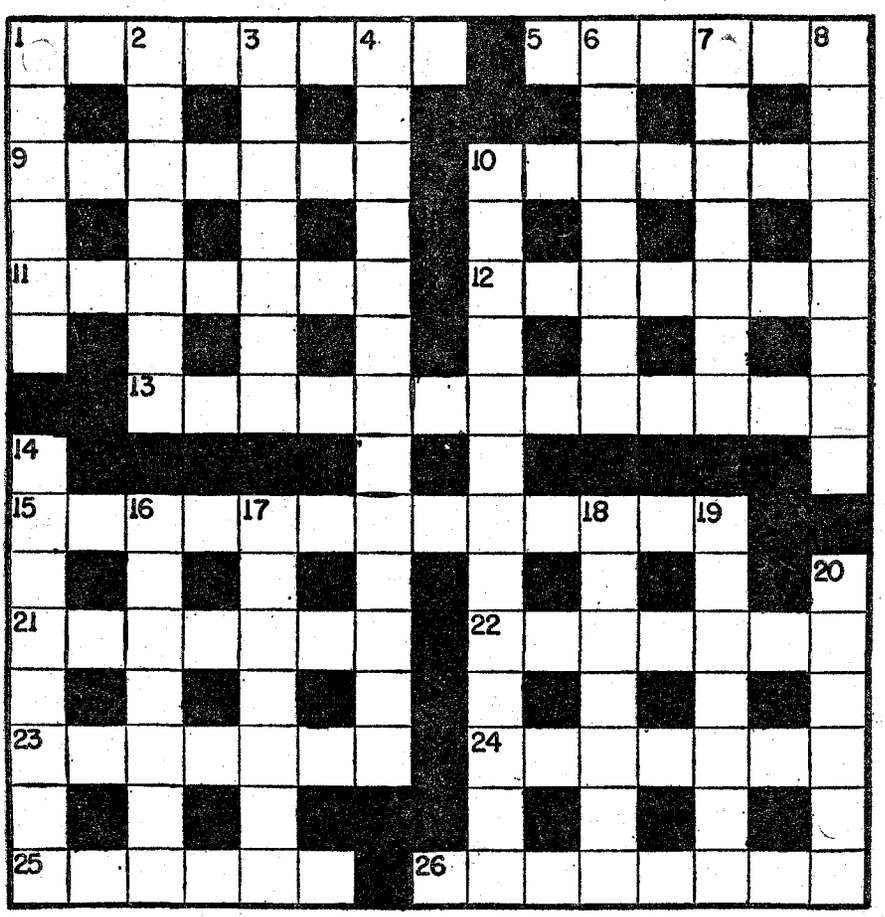
Crossword Puzzle No. 306

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Occasionally binding, but more often indefinite. (8)
5 1001 of the 22 type. (6)
9 and 16. *"When - - - - - - - has choked A great man's voice, the common words he said Turn oracles."* (*Elizabeth Browning*) (3, 4, 2, 5)
10 Ned gave and obtained satisfaction. (7)
11 You can't say he doesn't care for valuable things! (7)
12 Engages in revolutionary activities. (7)
13 Spinsters hold it, as well! (13)
15 Ducks, perhaps, as a speculation? (8, 5)
21 The Bible warns against looking on it. (3, 4)
22 See 5.
23 Most serious when it sounds like a light material, usually coated. (7)
24 Its role wastes time. (7)
25 Canine order where an arrow from Paris was sent. (2, 4)
26 Originally a hashish eater. (8)

DOWN

1 Contractions with an indefinite one. (6)
2 A sure sign of Cancer. (3, 4)
3 When such things burn one, is it critical? (7)
4 A singular version of what completely titles 22 and 5. (13)
6 How a butter-fingered fielder seems to excel. (2, 5)
7 At an English supper, the drinks are not necessarily held up. (4, 3)
8 Not the one on the front or back porch! (8) (hyphenated)
10 This cleaning job was quite a task. (6, 7)
14 Every woman tells unexpected company she looks one! (8)
16 See 9.
17 It takes three banks to make progress. (7)
18 Its holes are covered on a car I rebuilt. (7)
19 Cars for emperors? (7)
20 Pure coincidence. (6)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 305

ACROSS:— 1 PITCH; 4 FREEBOARD; 9 OLIVIER; 10 and 4 down ROARING FORTIES; 11 and 12 HIGH LIVER; 13 KISS; 16 UPROOTS; 17 TRUSSED; 19 EARSHOT; 22 TOPMAST; 24 DIPS; 26 ODOR; 29 RED DEER; 30 BALDWIN; 31 CENTIPEDE; 32 NOYES.

DOWN:—1 POORHOUSE; 2 TRIGGER; 3 HAIL TO THE CHIEF; 5 EARNEST; 6 BEAR; 7 AMITIES; 8 DOGES; 15 PUMPS; 18 DETHRONES; 20 RAPIDAN; 21 and 23 TO HORSE AND AWAY; 22 TREMBLE; 24 DORIC; 27 PERI; 28 CLAN.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

sation of the numerous Anglo-Americans who were helpless victims of Japanese army savagery in the concentration camps of Santo Tomas, Baguio, and Los Banos from January 4 or 5, 1942, to February 3, 1945. Frank E. Wilson, chairman of the Internees Committee, and the surviving internees have worked hard and unremittingly for the passage of H. R. 4044 and Public Law 896, measures which would authorize such compensation and which are still pending. ROLLIN G. MYERS

San Francisco, February 25

E Equals mc (squared)

Dear Sirs: I have just seen the issue of your magazine, January 15, in which Joseph Wood Krutch reviews Lincoln Barnett's "The Universe and Dr. Einstein." The last paragraph of this review contains a number of serious and objectionable errors. In the first place, the preposterous tale about Euler and Diderot is a pure fabrication. Diderot was a thoroughly competent mathematician who wrote some important papers on the theory of probability and other subjects. Second, the function expressing the relationship between energy and mass is $E=mc^2$, not $E=mc$. Third, the pleasing notion that the principle of indeterminacy proves the existence of human free will was exploded nearly twenty years ago by Bertrand Russell in a book entitled "The Scientific Outlook." And fourth, it is difficult to see the connection between the last paragraph and the rest of Mr. Krutch's otherwise excellent review.

Although the connection is obscure, it looks suspicious. We have been deluged lately with books in which the comforting myths of the past are found to be upheld by modern science. Unfortunately, however, logic is still the essence of philosophy, and science its necessary basis. CARL W. CONDIT

Evanston, Ill., February 25

So It Does

Dear Sirs: (1) The story about Euler and Diderot may be a fabrication but at least I got it from what looks like a respectable source, namely an account of "Science, Mathematics, and Astronomy in the Eighteenth Century" written by E. J. Holmyard of the Comité International d'Histoire de Science and sponsored by the Oxford Press. (2) E equals mc^2 is what I wrote and what appears in my copy of *The Nation*. If

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the exponent is left off in any copies, I don't know how that happened. (3) Mr. Condit has no more right to accuse me of merely wanting to believe that the will is free than I would have to accuse him of merely wanting to believe that it is not. The whole science-has-proved-once-and-for-all attitude seems to me unscientific. Surely if Newton can be revised it is not impossible that Bertrand Russell might be also. Not to beat about the bush, I certainly do believe that the assumption that men have some control over their actions is a better working hypothesis than its opposite.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

New York, March 1

Funds for the Farmers' Union

Dear Sirs: This past year the gallant efforts of members of the National Farm Union to deal as dignified human beings with the gigantic farm factories in California have brought their problem to the attention of the American labor movement, which has long neglected—to its own great danger—its fellow-workers in the fields. The past year, too, has seen a growing realization of the little-known fact that farm laborers are excluded from our whole system of social security and protective legislation. We see the beginnings of a movement to protect the Mexican American farm workers, who have been, until now, so helpless and voiceless a group in our national life.

These developments, we think, hold the possibility of eventual basic reform. But they are only tender, hopeful beginnings. They may fade away or they may grow—depending on the amount of encouragement and above all the financial support we can give them *now*.

Through its support of the National Farm Labor Union and other interracial organizations and through its own activities, the National Share-Croppers Fund is and has been in a key position to give this essential aid. To take advantage of this strategic moment we must increase our grants and intensify our work. We have set the modest goal of $25,000. Every dollar we spend today helps lay the foundation of a great new structure of security for those who have never had it.

I urge your readers to send their contribution today. Our address is 501 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

ELIOT D. PRATT, Secretary-Treasurer,
National Share-Croppers Fund

New York, February 28

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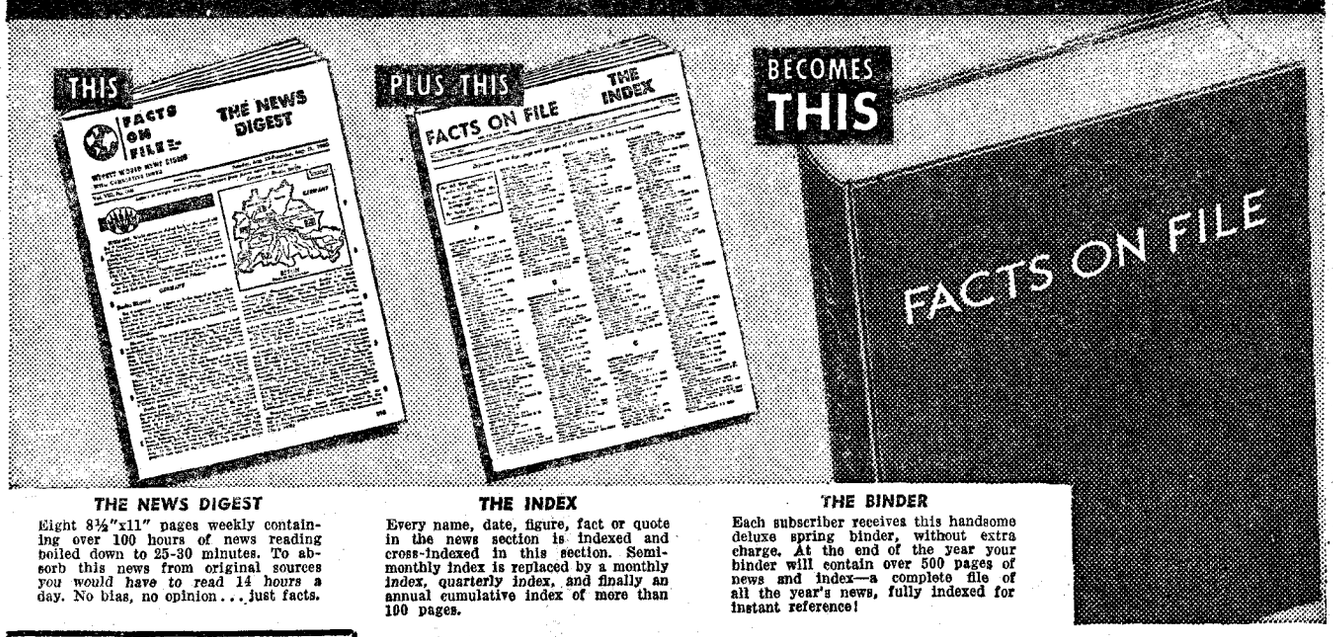

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